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Civic Voice in Elizabethan Parliamentary Oratory:

The Rhetoric and Composition

of

Speeches Delivered at Westminster in 1566

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Speeches Delivered at Westminster in 1566

by

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The revival of classical rhetoric has come to be seen as a defining feature of the Renaissance, one manifest in a vast body of educational literature and cultural commentary. This discourse borrows and reshapes principles of Greek and Roman rhetoricians for contemporary social purposes. Much of the early scholarship on this cultural trend emphasizes the connection between the revived classical rhetoric and the self-conscious civic humanism apparent in school curricula and learned culture. The figure of the orator played an especially important role in this movement. Scholars have pointed out that the orator was presented by many educators and social critics as a noble *vir civilis*, one learned in literature, articulate in speech, and active in civil society. While Renaissance reformulations of classical oratory and emphases on the figure of the orator have been studied quite extensively as they appear in written works of the period, much less attention has been given to civic orations actually delivered. This study attempts to redress that gap in our understanding of early modern civic discourse, especially by investigating the triangulated relationship between humanist rhetorical education,

Renaissance concepts of the power of eloquence, and civic speech as an institutionalized rhetorical practice.

Parliament, often compared by Tudor writers to the Greek Areopagus and Roman Senate, provides an ideal locus of investigation, since the speeches delivered there were categorically civic in nature and regularly addressed the traditional subjects of classical deliberative oratory. Yet close analyses of speeches from Elizabeth I's 1566 session reveal that the common Renaissance images of the orator are unsuitable for characterizing the expressions of civic voice exhibited in actual public speaking, just as the classical codification of civic speech provides an insufficient hermeneutic tool for understanding the rhetorical purposes of orations delivered in Tudor institutions.

Parliamentary orators did not see the revived classical rhetoric as the only, or even the primary, tool for composing orations in civic venues, but rather drew significantly upon institutional customs, procedural gestures, and alternative language arts, such as dialectic and sermonic prophesying, in order to establish finely nuanced stances within the rhetorical situation.

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Notes on Citation

Citation conventions:

- 1) Full bibliographic information appears at the end of the study in the "Bibliography." References in parenthetical citations follow MLA guidelines: author, title (for authors having multiple texts), and reference to specific pages or other sectional divisions. Footnotes list other relevant sources by name, title, and year of publication, to provide fuller information in the course of reading. When two dates are provided, the first is the original publication date, and the second is the date of the edition used.
- 2) The texts in the list below are referenced by the following abbreviations. Modern editions of collected writings for Elizabeth I and Francis Bacon will simply be cited by name of the author followed by *Works*.

Abbreviations for Frequently Cited Texts

<i>Ad. Her.</i>	<i>Rhetorica ad Herennium.</i>
<i>Com-1621</i>	<i>Commons Debates 1621.</i> Vols. 1-7. Eds. Wallace Notestein, Frances Helen Relf, and Hartley Simpson.
D'Ewes	Simonds D'Ewes, ed. <i>A Compleat Journal of the Votes, Speeches and Debates.</i>
Dasent	Arthur Dasent. <i>The Speakers of the House of Commons.</i>
<i>De Inv.</i>	Cicero. <i>De Inventione.</i>
<i>De Or.</i>	Cicero. <i>De Oratore.</i>
<i>EEBO</i>	<i>Early English Books Online</i> database.
<i>EP</i>	J. E. Neale. <i>Elizabeth I and her Parliaments.</i> Vols. 1-2.
<i>HPW</i>	Paul Silk and Rhodri Walters. <i>How Parliament Works.</i>
<i>Inst. Or.</i>	Quintilian. <i>Institutio Oratoria.</i>
<i>CJ</i>	<i>Journals of the House of Commons.</i> Vols. 1-8. Great Britain.
<i>Part. Or.</i>	Cicero. <i>Partitiones Oratoriae.</i>
<i>PiP-1610</i>	<i>Proceedings in Parliament 1610.</i> Ed. Elizabeth Foster Read.
<i>PiP-1614</i>	<i>Proceedings in Parliament 1614 (House of Commons).</i> Ed. Jansson.
<i>PiP-1625</i>	<i>Proceedings in Parliament 1625.</i> Eds. Bidwell and Jansson.
<i>PiP-1626</i>	<i>Proceedings in Parliament 1626.</i> Vols. 1-4. Ed. Bidwell and Jansson.
<i>PiPE</i>	<i>Proceedings in the Parliaments of Elizabeth I.</i> Vols. 1-3. Ed. T. E. Hartley.
<i>PoE</i>	G. R. Elton. <i>The Parliament of England.</i>
<i>PuT</i>	Jennifer Loach. <i>Parliament under the Tudors.</i>
<i>Rhet.</i>	Aristotle. <i>On Rhetoric.</i>

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Introduction: The Civic Orator in the Age of Eloquence

At the end of the 1566 session of Parliament, Queen Elizabeth rose to speak—an act neither required, nor expected from this still young queen. Custom allowed the Lord Chancellor or Lord Keeper to speak for the sovereign in the opening and closing of Parliament, the only meetings in which the king or queen would typically be present.¹ Rather than let Lord Keeper Bacon’s traditional, officious dismissal of Parliament serve as final word for this contentious session, Elizabeth chose in 1566 to add her own “periphrasis” (*Works* 107), one which, in effect, slammed the door on exiting participants, the members of the House of Commons in particular, showing them how unwelcome their presence at Westminster would be in the future.² She did not, in fact, call another Parliament until 1571—though not the longest interval between sessions, one long enough to allow historians to posit an adversarial relationship with Parliament during the early years of her reign (*EP* 1:177; cf. *PuT* 3-4, 101-2, 110-1).

Later we will discuss the political issues at the heart of this division between sovereign and subjects, but for now we need simply recognize that the offending acts

¹ My general accounts of Parliamentary procedure during the period draw upon these three texts: J. E. Neale, *Elizabeth I and Her Parliaments* (1958); G. R. Elton, *The Parliament of England 1559-1581* (1986, 1989); Jennifer Loach, *Parliament under the Tudors* (1991). Regularly, however, I will cite other historical sources for illumination of specific points, especially when contested or obscure. Finally, for comparison with modern Parliamentary procedure, I sometimes draw upon Paul Silk and Rhodri Walters, *How Parliament Works* (1987, 1995). Given my frequent reference to procedural matters, many of these texts will be referenced by abbreviations listed in the front-matter.

² Parliament might be dissolved or prorogued to resume at a later date, thereby creating multiple sessions for a single Parliament. As I will discuss in the first chapter, the 1566 session was an extension of Elizabeth’s second Parliament, which began in 1563. Elizabeth’s mention of “periphrasis,” finally, was not a reference to some institutional terminology for dismissal, but rather an invocation of the trope for “circumlocution,” that is, verbal amplification, of a “simple idea” (*Ad Her.* 4.32.43).

provoking Elizabeth's angry oration were themselves oratorical. It was the pseudo-public speaking in the lower house that drove her to declare of some MPs, "they thought to work that mischief which never foreign enemy could bring to pass, which is the hatred of my Commons." In fact, her speech explicitly links her "hatred" for the lower house to various kinds of speech-acts committed by particular groups in that deliberative body:

[The members in the Commons] began to pierce the vessel before the wine was fined, and began a thing not foreseeing the end: how by this means I have seen my well-willers from mine enemies and can, as me seemeth, very well divide the House into four.

First the broachers and workers thereof, who are in the greatest fault. Secondly, the speakers, who by eloquent tales persuaded others, are in the next degree. Thirdly, the agreeers, who being so light of credit that the eloquence of the tales so overcame them, that they gave more credit thereunto than unto their own wits. And lastly are those which sat still mute and meddled not therewith, but rather wondered, disallowing the matter; who in my opinion are most to be excused. (*Works* 107)

Elizabeth's hierarchy of offenders in the Commons assigns members' various responsibilities in furthering what she viewed as a collective error, that is, their propensity to debate issues she preferred left to her own prerogative, at least until she felt the need for consultation (once the "wine was fined"). Thus the greatest insult came from those who raised such issues too soon ("the broachers and workers"), submitting new business to Parliament's statutory machine without her consent. Next are the MPs telling "eloquent tales" ("the speakers") to further that business. Then the yes-men ("agreeers," albeit not with the Queen) put their weight, however "light," behind these unsanctioned causes. Thank goodness for the dumbfounded members ("those which sat still mute"): Who knows what other errant acts would have taken place?

In the Epilogue, I will return to the particularities of Elizabeth's rebuke. Here I note rather that her closing speech serves as a suitable starting point for launching a

broad study of early modern oratorical composition, primarily for her expression of two paradoxical attitudes associated with the Renaissance project to revive classical rhetoric in early modern grammar schools, universities, and civil society generally.³

First, Elizabeth's speech itself shows the impulse to view eloquent oratory as a source of societal power. As a whole, her own oration attempts to achieve a key aim of public speaking as taught by humanist educators to their aristocratic patrons, that is, to *control* an audience. The Renaissance humanists, as Hanna Gray noted, "followed the Ciceronian tradition . . . in their portrait of the orator as hero," a conquering figure rising above the rabble, helping others to rise as well by the commanding influence of words alone (504). This concept of eloquence appears strikingly enough in Cicero's revived writings on rhetoric and public speaking, where he repeatedly presents the orator as both creator and maintainer of civil society. Humanist educators highlighted and adapted for their own purposes Cicero's theory that eloquent speech was the key factor enabling humanity to rise above animals, among which physical conflict, not rational communication was the primary determinant for social influence. Gray rightly identifies this "picture of the ideal orator, master of many arts and governor of his fellowmen," as a "commonplace" among the humanists and, moreover, one "taken seriously."

³ On the connection between Renaissance intellectual culture and the history of rhetoric, Kristeller observes, "Renaissance humanism must be understood as a characteristic phase in what may be called the rhetorical tradition in Western culture" (*Renaissance Thought* 11). As I will soon show, the peculiar connection between Renaissance humanism and the Greek and Roman rhetorical traditions drives much of my interest in civic oratory during the period. The following sources have informed my general discussion of this intellectual and cultural trend (more specific studies will be noted elsewhere): Hanna H. Gray, "Renaissance Humanism" (1963); Anthony Grafton and Lisa Jardine, *From Humanism to the Humanities* (1986); Paul F. Grendler, *Schooling in Renaissance Italy* (1989). These sources primarily cover the continental humanist movements; studies of English humanism and education are noted below.

More recent studies have further traced the broad circulation of visual and verbal images of the “orator-hero,” or as Wayne Rebhorn perhaps more aptly suggests, the “orator-civilizer” (24), showing it to be a pervasive and persuasive archetype in early modern culture. The orator moved and shaped civil society by the “power of eloquence.”⁴ Thomas Wilson’s Christianized version of Cicero’s orator-centered creation myth, offered in his *Arte of Rhetorique* (1553), is perhaps the image best known to modern scholars of the English rhetorical tradition. But equally visible to early moderns was the image of the Gallic Hercules, an iconic figure typically depicted as driving a regal train by way of chains issuing from his mouth to the ears of obedient subjects below. Here the princely orator conducts the collective human machine like a locomotive of bodies.⁵

These grand images of the orator, often depicted with mythic influence (like Cicero’s primordial orator or the Gallic Hercules), warrant scrutiny as expressions of contemporary cultural archetypes, ones that poets and dramatists tended to meld with current ideas and ideals of civil society and social power. We should not forget, however, that the revived Greek and Rome rhetorical handbooks treat orators and the concept of eloquent speech in pragmatic and pedagogic terms, regularly referring to actual speeches

⁴ The perceived connection between power and eloquence, as conceived by early moderns, is also analyzed in Brian Vickers, “‘The Power of Persuasion’: Images of the Orator, Elyot to Shakespeare” (1983); Neil Rhodes, *Power of Eloquence in English Renaissance Literature* (1992); Wayne A. Rebhorn, *The Emperor of Men’s Minds* (1995); Quentin Skinner, *Reason and Rhetoric in the Philosophy of Hobbes* (1996, 2004).

⁵ Rhodes, *Power of Eloquence*, 174, 192; Rebhorn, *Emperor*, 66-79; Skinner, *Reason*, 92-3. I have found a reference to the Gallic Hercules published around the time of the 1566 Parliament (one not noted by any of the aforementioned studies): It is a school oration by Richard White published together with another oration, “De Laudibus Ciceronis et Eloquentiae”: see “De Omnium Artium et Philosophiae Circulo” in *Orationes Duae* (1566), *op. cit.* Bvii^v.

and specific compositional techniques.⁶ Likewise, we should not forget that the civic-minded humanists, who may well have highlighted the archetype of the orator-hero to convince students and aristocratic parents of the value of the classical learning they purveyed, themselves proposed utterly practical, if ambitious, programs of study. Continental European educators such as Rudolph Agricola (1444-1485), Desiderius Erasmus (1466/7-1536), Juan Luis Vives (1492-1540), and Philip Melancthon (1497-1560), among many others, borrowed inventive, structural, and stylistic principles from classical manuals for training orators, cultivating Renaissance pupils from a young age to both eloquent speech and virtuous behavior.⁷ These ideals were based not only on Christian values, but also on the categories of conduct outlined by Roman rhetoricians. In directing their curricula, humanist educators repeatedly highlighted classical orators as

⁶ Much of my understanding of classical rhetorical doctrine comes directly from the classical handbooks, but I have also benefited from the following scholarship (most of which includes explanations of how classical rhetoric was received in later periods): Heinrich Lausberg, *Handbook of Literary Rhetoric*, translated by Matthew T. Bliss, Annemiek Jansen, and David E. Orton (1960, 1998); James J. Murphy, *Rhetoric in the Middle Ages* (1974); George A. Kennedy, *Classical Rhetoric and Its Christian and Secular Tradition from Ancient to Modern Times* (1980, 1987); Brian Vickers, *In Defence of Rhetoric* (1988, 2002).

⁷ These secondary sources touch on most or all of these educators. George A. Kennedy, “Classical Rhetoric in the Renaissance” in *Classical Rhetoric* (1980); Peter Mack, *Renaissance Argument* (1993); Vickers, “Renaissance Reintegration” in *In Defence*, 254-293. For focused discussions of Agricola's influence in particular see Walter Ong, *Ramus, Method, and the Decay of Dialogue* (1958, 1983) and the second half of Mack's *Renaissance Argument*; note that Ong's reading of Agricola is too dismissive to be taken on its own. For discussions of Erasmus and his influence on English education in particular, see Arthur Leach, Introduction, *Educational Charters* (1911); T. W. Baldwin, *Shakespeare's Small Latine* (1944), chs. iv-vi; Kenneth Charlton, *Education in Renaissance England* (1965); David Cressy, Introduction, *Education in Tudor and Stuart England* (1975); Lisa Jardine, “Ghosting the Reform of Dialectic: Erasmus and Agricola again” (1994); Thomas O. Sloane, *On the Contrary* (1996). For a discussion of Vives, see Don Abbott, “La Rétorica y el Renacimiento: An Overview of Spanish Theory” (1983). For a focused discussion of Melancthon, see Kees Meerhoff, “The Significance of Philip Melancthon's Rhetoric in the Renaissance” (1994).

examples of what could be done with eloquent speech, on occasion praising them to fabulous heights, but they emphasized that such a powerful civic voice was the result of life-long learning and conscientious civic engagement—not simply a short-course in rhetoric. While this pedagogic treatment of oratory may not be quite as lofty as the carefully fashioned archetype of the orator-civilizer, it nonetheless established the person of the orator as a relevant benchmark of learned, vocal citizenship.

Roger Ascham's *The Schoolmaster* (1570) serves well as example of the English version of this civic humanism.⁸ He composed the text during the interim between the first and second sessions of Elizabeth's second Parliament, in other words, during the years leading up to her 1566 speech. The book itself begins with an anecdote wherein Ascham (1515?-1568), one of Elizabeth's tutors, describes an evening spent at a dinner discussing educational methods. Those in attendance included the cream of the English crop: William Cecil (1520-1598), Walter Mildmay (1523?-1589), Richard Sackville (1516-1566), to name a few attendees who were also members of Parliament.⁹ The debate ultimately prompts Ascham to write two "books" on education, one on the "Bringing up of Youth," the other on "The Ready Way to the Latin Tongue." Though its title suggests a grammar-centered treatise, the latter book actually offers necessary pedagogic details for the proper "bringing up of youth." Reading and writing good Latin, especially the kind used by the orators of antiquity, plays a significant role in cultivating good citizens.

⁸ For discussions of Ascham's humanism see Lawrence V. Ryan, Introduction to Roger Ascham, *The Schoolmaster* (1570, 1967), xi-xlii; Skinner, "The Study of Rhetoric" and "The Power of Eloquence" in *Reason and Rhetoric*, 19-110, *passim*. For an extended discussion of Ascham's humanism, see Sloane, *On the Contrary*.

⁹ For an instructive discussion of William Cecil's education in civic humanism, see Stephen Alford, "William Cecil and Early Elizabethan Political Culture" in *The Early Elizabethan Polity* (1998), 9-42.

Although Ascham places one orator in particular on a pedestal, Cicero (with Demosthenes not far below), he makes it clear that a broad spectrum of literature—history, poetry, and philosophy, alongside oratory—must be consumed to reach Cicero’s heights. In fact, it is Cicero’s own broad learning, especially his grasp of Greek philosophy and history, as well as his varied composition in historic, philosophic, and oratorical genres, that makes him an ideal speaker and statesmen (150-1). Civic orators, as Cicero himself noted, were valued not simply for their ability to speak with beautiful forms, but primarily for their selective use of wisdom to further practical causes. Ascham, for the most part, agrees not only with his Roman predecessors, but also with other English humanists, like Thomas Elyot, who made the same point in his *Governour* (1531), as we shall see in the first chapter.

Indeed, Ascham’s ideas on Latin instruction, as with those presented by fellow humanists, assumed that the aim of liberal arts education was to perfect statesmen and magistrates. As civic, not military leaders, they were empowered more by intelligent judgment and speech than by a heavy sword. Consequently, orators could replace knights as key middle-managers in early modern government—or rather, knights would best become orators by attaining some rhetorical training.¹⁰ Where Ascham remarks on the *vim Demosthenis*, then, he is referring to that persuasive force demonstrated through Demosthenes’ speaking on the Areopagus, on the “hill of Ares,” not his use of arms on a

¹⁰ See Arthur B. Ferguson, *The Articulate Citizen and the English Renaissance* (1965). Sources in earlier notes document the idea that gentlemen were cultivated to be orators. Ferguson’s study is interesting for its remarkable omission of significant discussion of rhetoric. Nonetheless he is able to argue convincingly that the humanist movement cultivated vocal citizenship. He offers some analogues for the orator-civilizer: “citizen-counselor” (192, 243); “gentlemen-governor” (191).

battlefield, a *field* of Ares (101). Elsewhere Ascham reiterates Cicero's observation regarding the heroic Scipio Africanus, conqueror of Carthage: "Cicero doubteth whether he were more noble captain in war or more eloquent and wise counselor in peace" (48). Ascham himself praises Julius Caesar more for his "natural eloquence" than for his military prowess (156, cf. 161-162). Mythic archetypes aside, classical orators were considered ideal models for exercising civic voice, and so their texts, as much as possible, were studied directly as tangible demonstrations of the power of eloquence. Indeed, while advocating imitation as a valid compositional exercise, Ascham observes, "Tully persecuted Antony with same weapons of eloquence that Demosthenes used before against Philip [of Macedon]" (117).

The fact that such individuals were capable of directing public affairs by speech alone must have appealed to many a feudal sovereign bankrupt by war and foreign intrigues, as was the case for Elizabeth I. A female monarch might find the power of eloquence especially enticing for maintaining control, given that she could not easily portray herself a master of the battlefield. Whether it was for a true love of learning or a desire to wield the power of eloquence, Elizabeth herself was reading Demosthenes' speeches in 1563, as Ascham relates to readers at the end of his introductory anecdote (5-7). He notes later in the text that she spent "a year or two" translating—or rather "double-translating"—Demosthenes, Isocrates, and Tully (87). The efficacy and eloquence of these classical civic orators may well have inspired her to assert her own commanding voice at the end of the 1566 session—to take on the role of the orator-civilizer, as it were—in order to reign in her unruly Commons.

This brings us to the other, contradictory attitude associated with the revived

classical rhetoric, that is, the impulse to mistrust eloquent speech as a potential disrupter, rather than maintainer of social order. While the “eloquent” tale-tellers in 1566 were not first on Elizabeth’s lists of offenders, they seem to have played an instrumental role in convincing the sizable body of “agreeers” to disobey her will, thereby sustaining an invalid cause that would otherwise have fallen flat. Such mistrust of eloquence, of course, provided a subtext for the classical rhetorical texts themselves, which have been read by some modern scholars as measured responses to philosophers like Plato, who viewed contemporary “sophists” as unscrupulous technocrats abusing commonplace verbal tricks (like cooks fooling our taste buds) and doing so in order to mislead unlearned or unthoughtful audiences, thereby corrupting society as a whole.¹¹

This longstanding skeptical attitude towards eloquent speech, especially that cultivated by the rhetorical arts, produced correspondingly negative archetypes of the eloquent orator. Although “sophistry” came to be used as a common term for misuse of rhetoric, the sophists themselves were not entirely written off as relevant models during classical rhetoric’s heyday (approximately from Aristotle to Quintilian), nor were they entirely condemned by humanist rhetoricians (who had an affinity for Isocrates). Rather, two types of speakers were infamous for their misleading speeches and abuse of rhetorical acumen: dishonest *counselors* using flattery to sway powerful individuals, such as princes and emperors, and *demagogues* stirring up the emotions of the masses for their own gain. Accounts of such individuals appear in classical histories by the likes of Livy and Thucydides, authors drawn upon by Renaissance critics. Tacitus’s *Dialogues*, written

¹¹ George A. Kennedy, Introduction to Aristotle, *On Rhetoric*, 11; Kennedy, *Classical Rhetoric*, 63. Kennedy observes that Aristotle seems to be answering the critiques Plato lays out against contemporary rhetoric in *Phaedrus*.

as a commentary on the oratory under the Roman Empire, also identify *courtiers* as one version of these corrupt speakers, anticipating the views of later periods.¹²

These negative archetypes of the eloquent orator were not usually part of formal rhetorical training in the early modern period. Brian Vickers has observed that Renaissance humanist educators tended to omit from their treatises on rhetoric these negative images of the orator, or for that matter, any salient critique of the misuse of verbal skill and the power accompanying it. Vickers writes of the humanist treatment of rhetoric, “There is a striking inability, or unwillingness, to conceive that language could be applied to evil ends, or used to deceive or corrupt” (“Power of Persuasion” 412). And yet, as Vickers points out, the negative image of the orator appears often enough in early modern English drama, an observation he uses to suggest that the contemporary dramatists had a comparatively sophisticated view of the power of persuasive speech. Thus he points out Iago’s “dissimulation,” a perfect example of evil, self-serving privy counseling (424). Vickers remarks also that Shakespeare’s Brutus was “moved by speech to become a murderer,” a case showing how evil advisors (in this case Cassius) need not be restricted to monarchal paradigms (425). As for demagogues, Vickers turns to *Coriolanus*, wherein the tribunes “foment the people’s hatred of Coriolanus” (426).

While Vickers assigns humanist writings on rhetoric *per se* too exclusive a role in their broad program of education (as will be shown in the first chapter) and evaluates them as theoretical rather than pedagogical works, his identification of common negative images of the orator to counter-balance those of the orator-civilizer has been borne out by

¹² For discussions of these historical sources and their early modern interpreters, see Rebhorn, *Emperor*, ff. 113, 222-223; Skinner, *Reason and Rhetoric*, 161-180, *passim*.

many recent studies, most of which look at the positive and negative archetypes together, as contra-posed ideas of eloquence and its relevance to civil society.¹³ The commonplace status of both these assessments of eloquent oratory may be illustrated succinctly enough—and quite in line with our purposes—by noting that Elizabeth could both issue her diatribe against “eloquent” speakers and also accept praise for her own “eloquence” in speech (*PiPE* 1:126).

While these recent exposés on the different archetypes of the orator, often presented as an analysis of social “power,” have complicated the long-held assessment that Renaissance thinkers held a generally benign view of the figure of the civic speaker (in accordance with revived classical textbooks on rhetoric), they have nonetheless validated earlier scholarship positing a strong link between humanist education’s oratorical roots and its heightened attention to civic voice (in accordance with revived classical textbooks on rhetoric). Indeed, one tangible result of humanist curricular programs, beyond the increase in flowery phrasing, classical form, and mythic content, is the very presumption that civic voice was exercised primarily via speech, not writing, no matter the politicized subjects treated in contemporary manuscripts and print texts.¹⁴ To be sure, writing was studied carefully for its conveyance of learning, familiar

¹³ See Rhodes, *Power of Eloquence*; Rebhorn, *Emperor*; Skinner, *Reason and Rhetoric*. Rhodes deals with English literature, especially characters in drama. Rebhorn treats a variety of literary texts from both England and the continent. Skinner focuses on how Thomas Hobbes’s philosophy reflects these alternate attitudes towards eloquence.

¹⁴ In the first chapter I will illustrate the Renaissance appreciation for oratory. For a modern assertion of the “primacy” of persuasive oratory to the classical conceptualization of rhetoric, see George A. Kennedy’s *Classical Rhetoric* (1980). Kennedy explains the differences between “primary” and “secondary” (i.e., literary) rhetoric in the first chapter, especially 4-5, and carries them through the rest of the book. See also Walter Ong, *Orality and Literacy* (1982).

correspondence, and poetic works. Yet, as many modern scholars have noted about both classical and Renaissance education, written forms were often treated as stepping stones and analogues to oral forms that were directly connected to venues of public speaking, venues having some real administrative function within state institutions.

This assessment of the relatively higher import of speech in civic matters may have been changing with the growth of paper-pushing bureaucracies and the pamphlet press, but the modern connection between “free press” and active citizenship was still far off. Milton’s *Areopagitica* (1644) provides a clear indication of how far the ideal of the orator ran once classical textbooks on rhetoric found their legs in movable type. Milton himself helps foreground this ironic subordination of print publication to classical oratory by labeling his pamphlet “A Speech for the Liberty of Unlicensed Printing.” Also significant is the fact that, though explicitly directed to Parliament, the “speech” invokes Isocrates as its oratorical model, a classical Greek rhetorician who (educated readers knew) tended not to deliver the speeches he *wrote*. Isocrates was nonetheless treated by both classical and Renaissance rhetoricians as a genuine “orator” for the fact that his speeches were intended to be delivered (albeit not by him) in the Areopagus, the chief venue of Athenian civic governance. Milton appears to be invoking that aspect of the Isocratean tradition (i.e., indirect, oratorical address to a pseudo-democratic body) and not primarily the form or content used by Isocrates himself. Even so, Milton does use a Ciceronian oratorical structure in presenting what appears in form to be a classical deliberative “speech.”¹⁵ All these choices, especially the ironic labeling of *Areopagitica*

¹⁵ The following studies discuss *Areopagitica*’s classical oratorical precedent variously, many noting the irony in the title: Wilbur Elwyn Gilman, *Milton's Rhetoric*:

as a “speech,” merely reflect the then current presumption that the civic orator (not the pamphleteer) represented an ideal of active and vocal citizenship (no matter that some were not allowed to pursue it). Milton’s borrowed *ethos* nonetheless resonates so true to the classical oratorical ideal that a modern thinker as appreciative of classical rhetoric as Kenneth Burke would unflinchingly use this printed pamphlet for his example of what was “clearly rhetorical” (4), choosing *Areopagitica* over a great wealth of classical and modern orations also exhibiting textbook rhetorical features.¹⁶

One irony that Milton may not have been aware of, however, is that his “speech” lacks key textual markers that MPs would expect to hear in an address to the English House of Commons, such as an overture to the Speaker of the House. Every speech (in theory, though not always recorded as such) begins with an opening address to “Mr. Speaker.” Milton may have known about this tradition and chosen to eschew it in favor of the classical form of oration—a choice that would have revealed his acceptance of the antiquarian attitudes towards civic oratory held by his contemporaries. But Milton, who had not served as MP, may also have been unaware of this esoteric tradition of formal address, one of many used in the English Parliament.

Studies in his Defense of Liberty (1939), 9-17; William T. Costello, *The Scholastic Curriculum at Early Seventeenth-Century Cambridge* (1958), 33; Ernest Sirluck, Introduction in *Complete Prose Works of John Milton: Volume II 1643-1648* (1959), 170-3; Juanita Whitaker, “‘The Wars of Truth’: Wisdom and Strength in *Areopagitica*” (1976), 188; Christopher Kendrick, “Ethics and the Orator in *Areopagitica*” (1983), *passim*; Thomas O. Sloane, *Donne, Milton, and the End of Humanist Rhetoric*. Berkeley (1985), 18-33; Michael Wilding, “Milton’s *Areopagitica*: Liberty for the Sects” (1986), 28; Paul M. Dowling, “*Areopagitica* and *Areopagiticus*: The Significance of the Isocratic Precedent” (1986).

¹⁶ *Areopagitica* has also been published in anthologies of *speeches*: See, for example, *Select British Eloquence* (1852, 1961); *The World’s Famous Orations* (1906); *The Power of Eloquence* (1961); *Classic Speeches: Words that Shook the World* (1965).

For our purposes, however, a different point of irony should be highlighted: the fact that many of the same scholars highlighting Milton's direct "speech" to Parliament have not thought fit to critique it in light of other examples of the genre. This neglect is all the more surprising given the frequent wonderment at how such an eloquent oration could fail to achieve its aim of moving Parliament to repeal book-licensing. Indeed, *Areopagitica* has attracted a great deal of scholarly attention for its use of oratorical form and traditional display of the "ethics of an orator," and yet it has not been reconciled directly with genuine *speeches* delivered to Parliament, which is the genre explicitly invoked by the printed subtitle. That this comparison is overlooked is all the more ironic given that the pamphlet's subject-matter—freedom of the press—is construed a right we now equate (perhaps carelessly) with freedom of speech in general. This right is a recurrent subject of debate in Tudor and Stuart Parliaments, where it was ceremoniously requested at the opening of each session and more than once vigorously defended in the course of Parliamentary proceedings. Indeed, many Commons MPs could claim themselves well-versed in arguing for "free speech."¹⁷

Although our understanding of Milton's pamphlet in particular may not be much affected once reconciled with genuine speeches in Parliament, the tendency to omit such a comparison is symptomatic of a general problem this dissertation seeks to help redress: the lack of scholarly interest in civic oratory delivered in a period singled out for its

¹⁷ Of the studies noted above, only Wilding appears to be aware of the right of free speech in Parliament; yet he does not elaborate upon how this might affect *Areopagitica*'s reception by MPs, the people he is ostensible trying to persuade. For an important discussion of the "rhetoric of free speech" in the Stuart period, including an extended chapter on Parliament, see David Colclough, *Freedom of Speech in Early Stuart England* (2005).

revival of classical rhetorical textbooks and their corresponding fixation on the person of the orator. Indeed, the neglect of civic oratory as a specific kind of early modern rhetorical practice is particularly striking once compared with the great modern interest in studying the revival of rhetoric as a definitive quality of the period. While much of the original interest appears to have emerged from a desire to understand the artistry of authors like Shakespeare and Donne—a desire reflected in C. S. Lewis’s offhand and undeveloped remark, “Rhetoric is the greatest barrier between us and our [sixteenth-century] ancestors” (61)¹⁸—over the past half century, the revival rhetoric in the Renaissance has come to be recognized as more than stylistic: Rhetoric’s resurgence reflects an attitude towards humanity, especially as exhibited by discourse in civil society. Consequently, a great scholarly effort seeks to understand the *rhetorical culture* of the period. Such research has uncovered voluminous amounts of early modern writing on rhetoric and provided key details about rhetoric’s central role in contemporary education and thought.¹⁹

Along with this heightened attention to rhetorical education and theory in the

¹⁸ This passage (or other parts of Lewis's three-page coverage of rhetoric's historical influence on the period) is repeatedly cited by subsequent scholars to justify or explain an application of rhetorical principles to the study of Renaissance literature and culture. See, for example, Hannah Gray (1963), 514; Walter Ong, *Rhetoric, Romance, and Technology* (1971), 1, 89; Richard Lanham, *Motives of Eloquence* (1976), 33-34; Ong, *Orality & Literacy* (1982), 108-109; Brian Vickers “Epideictic and Epic” (1983), 498; Brian Vickers, *Defence* (1998), 263-264; Colclough, *Freedom of Speech in Early Stuart England*, 13.

¹⁹ Besides the studies on English eloquence listed above and those on Bacon listed below, see T. W. Baldwin, *William Shakspeare's Small Latine and Lesse Greeke* (1944); Donald Lemen Clark, *John Milton at St. Paul's School: A Study of Ancient Rhetoric in English Rhetoric Education* (1948); W. S. Howell, *Logic and Rhetoric in England, 1500-1700* (1956); Sloane, *Donne, Milton and the End of Humanist Rhetoric*; Sloane, *On the Contrary*; Peter Mack, *Elizabethan Rhetoric* (2002).

period, the “new rhetoric” movement has encouraged a deeper analysis of “rhetorical motive” in literary works, especially those responding to particular historical events and social conditions.²⁰ Indeed, much recent work on the figure of the orator melds these two trends together, presenting the figure of the orator as a cipher for understanding particular motives and modes for engaging in civil society and civic discourse.²¹ Yet while the scholarly interest in Renaissance rhetoric has produced a great volume of commentary on early modern rhetorical theory and practice, often with reference to classical oratory and the figure of the orator, modern scholars of rhetoric have only studied in depth a relatively small number of categorically civic speeches.

Take for poignant example the scholarship on Francis Bacon. Stalwart scholars of rhetoric Karl Wallace and Brian Vickers have devoted books to Bacon’s rhetorical

²⁰ See especially Lanham, *Motives of Eloquence*. Lanham’s comments on Lewis’s observation suggest how a critical remark on literary taste and literacy might be turned into a meditation on a particular “world view” and a quest for “rhetorical man.” See also, I. A. Richards, *The Philosophy of Rhetoric* (1936, 1964); Kenneth Burke, *A Rhetoric of Motives* (1950, 1969). Richards regularly refers to Shakespeare in explaining a “philosophy of rhetoric.” Burke likewise draws upon Renaissance writers to explain “rhetorical motive”—his ideas clearly inspired other rhetorical treatments of peculiar early modern modes of discourse, especially *courtliness*. See following note.

²¹ Besides the studies on eloquence and power noted earlier, many others draw on rhetorical theories about the persuasiveness of figures of speech or the purposes of classical oratorical genres, in order to interpret early modern literature within a social context (others will be mentioned in Chapter 2): Robert M. Coogan “Sidney’s *Defense* and Aristotle’s *Rhetoric*” (1981); Brian Vickers, “Epideictic and Epic in Renaissance” (1983); Frank Whigham, *Ambition and Privilege: The Social Tropes of Elizabethan Courtesy Theory* (1984); Paula H. Payne, “The Poet Orator’s Praise: Epideictic Discourse in Sidney’s *Astrophil and Stella*” (1988); John F. Tinkler, “Praise and Advice: Rhetorical Approaches in More’s *Utopia* and Machiavelli’s *Prince*,” (1988); Linda Bense-Meyers, “Empowering the Audience: The Rhetorical Poetics of Renaissance Drama” (1989); Virginia Cox, “Machiavelli and the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*: Deliberative Rhetoric in *The Prince*” (1997); Elizabeth Skerpan, *The Rhetoric of Politics in the English Revolution: 1642-1660* (1992); Miri Tashma-Baum, “*Englands Helicon*: Epideixis, Complaint, and Escapism” (2002).

theories and written prose, *Francis Bacon on Communication & Rhetoric* (1943) and *Francis Bacon and Renaissance Prose* (1968) respectively, and yet Wallace dedicates only a single article and a section of another to Bacon's public speaking ("Discussion in Parliament," 1957; "Francis Bacon and Method," 1973), and Vickers mentions Bacon's oratorical practice on just a few pages, primarily for comparative analysis with Bacon's written works. The only extended rhetorical treatment of Bacon's oratorical practice is Robert Hannah's "Francis Bacon, the Political Orator," an article that appeared over eighty years ago in *Studies in Rhetoric and Public Speaking in Honor of James Albert Winans* (1925). Hannah even then asks plaintively, "What . . . is known about Bacon the political orator?" (92). Yet since Hannah's article-length survey of Bacon's speeches, modern rhetoricians have taken more to puzzling over Bacon's "communication" theories, written style, and philosophical essays and treatises than to looking over his public speaking, which would seem to offer a roadmap for understanding his general perceptions about the role of civic discourse in public life.

This neglect of Bacon's orations is reflected in the modern publication record as well, which includes numerous editions of *The Advancement of Learning* (e.g., 1895, 1900, 1904, 1922, 1994, 2000, etc.) and innumerable editions of his *Essays*, but no full edition of Bacon's speeches since Spedding's publication of his complete works (1860, 1968). The modern scholar can most easily access Bacon's speeches online in the *Early English Books* collection (*EEBO*), which includes William Rawley's collation of Bacon's unpublished, "sleeping" works, appropriately titled *Resuscitatio* (1657). Rawley's explanation for placing Bacon's speeches first in the volume illustrates well the higher estimation of oratorical prose held by Bacon's near contemporaries: "I have ranked the

severall *Tractates*; Either, according to *Dignity*, or the *Work*; as *Demosthenes*, or *Cicero's, Orations*, do precede *Demosthenes*, or *Cicero's Epistles*" (b^v). Ironically, though this ranking of prose reflects the contemporary revival of classical oratorical ideals, the very ideals that many modern scholars have highlighted in their study of rhetoric during the period, such a sentiment has not moved modern scholars to appreciate Bacon's oratorical practice itself.

A similarly sparse record of study can be seen for the few other English orators of the period who have garnered interest for their speaking: Thomas Wilson (1523/4-1581) receives much the same treatment as Bacon. Wilson's speech on usury in the 1571 Parliament is the focus of a single article among journals focusing on rhetoric and public speaking, whereas his textbooks, *Arte of Rhetorique* (1553) and *Rule of Reason* (1551), have been published in modern critical editions and quite thoroughly analyzed by modern rhetoricians.²² On Wilson, Thomas O. Sloane, another stalwart of the modern revival of rhetoric studies, has followed much the same course as Vickers and Wallace on Bacon, giving Wilson's oratorical performance only passing mention compared to his theoretical treatises and, most tellingly, his *written dialogue* on the subject of usury—this in spite of Sloane's intention to present Wilson as a special case study of a "successful practitioner."²³ Likewise, Wilson's contemporary, Peter Wentworth (1524-1597), whose

²² Russel H. Wagner, "Thomas Wilson's Speech against Usury" (1952). An edition of Wilson's 1560 *Rhetorique* is edited by Peter E. Medine (1994); an edition of his *Rule of Reason* is edited by Richard S. Sprague (1972). For substantial treatments of Wilson's handbooks on logic and rhetoric see W.S. Howell, *Logic and Rhetoric* (1956); Sloane, *On the Contrary*; Mack, *Elizabethan Rhetoric*.

²³ Sloane, *On the Contrary*, 123, 193-271, *passim*. Sloan's interest in humanist rhetoricians reflects that of many other scholars: he highlights the skepticism in their practice of "contrarian" rhetorical invention, especially as shown in writings taking

unfinished address to the 1576 Parliament caused a Star Chamber hearing for its provocative opening, has been the focus of only two articles, in spite of the fact that political historians cite him as one of the early voices in the free-speech movement.²⁴

One would think that modern scholars of rhetoric might find more of interest in the Parliamentary discourse of a period characterized by many political historians as critical for the evolution of the institution into an active representative body (the perspective of J. E. Neale especially). But recognition of this key step towards democratic rule seems only to have spurred interest in the period leading up to the Short Parliament (1640) and the beginning of the Long Parliament (1640-1653). In *A History of Oratory in Parliament, 1213-1913* (1913), Robert Craig skips from the medieval origins of Parliament all the way to the 1629 speech of John Hampden (1594-1643) defending himself after attempts to impeach him, an episode to which Craig dedicates one short

dialogue form, and celebrates their attention to the *vita activa*, especially by emphasizing the moral and pragmatic nature of their lessons. This approach reflects well Sloan's overall emphasis on rhetorical practice as a way of *thinking*, but it begs the question of the cultural estimation of *speaking* as a special form of rhetorical practice. More significantly, it begs the question of how humanist rhetoric (at least in Sloane's conceptualization) is relevant to the *vita activa*, if Sloane cannot use the "real world" oratory of a "successful practitioner" to support his case. The same irony appears in his earlier study *Donne, Milton, and the End of Humanist Rhetoric* (1985), wherein a funeral sermon by Donne, appears to exemplify humanist rhetoric more than Milton's *Areopagitica*, which is repeatedly cited as typical example of classical deliberative oratory in the early modern period. Actually, neither piece could be said representative of the practicing civic orator—though both probably represent well alternate strands of humanist thought, only one of which Sloane legitimates. For that other strand humanism, the one emphasizing artistic *method*, out of which Milton comes, see Neal W. Gilbert, *Renaissance Concepts of Method* (1960); Mack, *Renaissance Argument*.

²⁴ Gary J. Hawkins, "Peter Wentworth's Unfinished Address on the Freedom of Speech" (1967); Michael Calvin McGee's "The Origins of 'Liberty': A Feminization of Power" (1980). For passing references to Wentworth's speech as instructive example of particular rhetorical moves, see Mack, *Rhetoric*, 1-2, 241-5; Colclough, *Freedom of Speech*, 54-55, *passim*. The dates of Wentworth's birth and death I have taken from *EP*; I have seen other dates elsewhere.

chapter. Craig also supplies a full chapter for John Pym (1584-1643), one of the most provocative members of Parliament leading into the years of civil war. Still, in other rhetorical scholarship, Pym has been the subject of only two articles, in spite of his broad recognition by historians as vocal and influential MP.²⁵ The speeches of Pym and other contemporary orators have gained more attention for their influence on the volatile political culture, than as oratorical compositions *per se*. Political historians understandably refer to various controversial speeches during this period as evidence for intrigue or contemporary social concerns, not as rhetorical products on their own merits, which of course is the purview of scholars of rhetoric, whose neglect is puzzling. The broader rhetorical analysis of civic speaking in early modern England has essentially been neglected until recently, taken up in only one brief journal article, George P. Rice's "The 'Special Topic,' *EIAH*, in Late Tudor and Early Stuart Public Discussion" (1946).

Two recent studies, however, can be praised for their relatively extensive coverage of Parliamentary oratory: "Elizabethan Parliamentary Oratory" in Peter Mack's *Elizabethan Rhetoric* (2002) and "Freedom of Speech in Early Stuart Parliaments," in David Colclough's *Freedom of Speech in Early Stuart England* (2005).²⁶ Both chapters analyze numerous speeches for particular rhetorical strategies, covering multiple sessions and many orators, thereby to show frequent use of specific rhetorical techniques. These

²⁵ Goodwin F. Berequist, "Revolution through Persuasion: John Pym's Appeal to the Moderates in 1640" (1963); Laura Crowell, "The Speaking of John Pym, English Parliamentarian," (1966); Laura Crowell, "Three *Plain* Speakers in Stuart England." (1967). These studies generally address material from 1640 and later. Crowell's 1966 article does provide a useful catalogue of earlier speeches, however. Significantly, Craig devotes to the period between 1558 and 1640 only two out of twenty-five chapters.

²⁶ Mack also discusses oral debate briefly in "Chapter 6: Political Argument." Mack's treatment of civic oratory here represents the fullest study of civic speaking in early modern England, even though civic speaking is not the primary focus of his work.

surveys, besides offering important evidence of the use of rhetorical theory in real civic venues, also show how little is known now about public speaking in the period, even in an institution recognized for its historical importance.

But while Mack and Colclough reveal a heretofore undiscovered (or ignored) expanse of rhetorical practice, I would argue that there is still much more to learn, especially by exploring the same subject with much greater depth. By focusing on only a few speeches from a few orators, I hope to provide an alternate perspective for analyzing oratorical composition, one that shows how the extensive nature of the humanist curriculum complicates (and makes more interesting) our understanding of how Renaissance rhetorical education cultivated civic voice.²⁷

Towards that end, I will briefly note the one English orator during this period who has received anything close to a book-length study: Elizabeth Tudor (1533-1603), Queen Elizabeth I (1558-1603), the speaker with which we opened. George P. Rice's *The Public Speaking of Queen Elizabeth* (1951) is divided into three parts: the first, a historical and political analysis of Elizabethan culture, which culminates in a chapter on Elizabeth's speaking in particular; the second, an edition of fifteen of her speeches; and the third, an edition of six "Speeches Delivered by Others in the Queen's Name." Although each of the selected orations is preceded by a brief introduction explaining the oratorical occasion and offering perfunctory critique, Rice's efforts do not constitute an in-depth rhetorical study, given that a majority of his text presents primary materials or historical background, not rhetorical analysis. A few other studies of Elizabeth's speaking deserve

²⁷ A single short speech can be the subject of a whole book, if one seeks to find how that utterance both reflects and seeks to influence a broad spectrum of public life. See Garry Wills, *Lincoln at Gettysburg: The Words that Remade America* (1992).

note for how they analyze her exercise of power through speech, but, while they begin the process of amending this scholarly gap, they still treat just a few of Elizabeth's speeches.²⁸ Even so, Rice's brief study alone shows that there is much early modern oratory worth study for its rhetorical crafting and also that the orations of a single speaker can tell us a great deal about the role of civic speaking in early modern culture. The broader practice of public speaking (dramatic performance aside) has been addressed heretofore only with regards sacred, not civic, speech.²⁹

Such is the extent of modern scholarship on public speaking for categorically civic purposes in a milieu supposed by many to be defined by the revival of classical oratory.³⁰ While it is curious enough that earlier scholarship highlighting—and often

²⁸ Allison Heisch, "Queen Elizabeth I: Parliamentary Rhetoric and the Exercise of Power" (1975); McGee, "The Origins of 'Liberty.'" See also Leah Marcus, "From Oral Delivery to Print in the Speeches of Elizabeth I" (2000). (I have recently identified also a study by Stephen May [2004] on Elizabeth's "Golden Speech," but have not had time to access it.) Marcus writes from the perspective of textual criticism, but makes useful observations on some rhetorical differences between delivering an oration and printing it later. For a comparable analysis of the effect of printing orations see Skerpan, *Rhetoric of Politics*; Skerpan treats the printing of Laud's 1637 oration in Star Chamber.

²⁹ One need only review the many studies on specific sermons of Luther, Latimer, Donne, and other famous divines. For an extended study of both the theory and practice of sermonic speech see, Peter Blench, *Preaching in England in the Late Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (1963). Blench's study, which surveys the use of specific techniques in multiple sermons, serves as example of the possible directions one might take in studying civic speaking; Mack seems in fact to follow Blench's method in his analysis of practice. I have chosen to focus more on a few connected speeches, for reasons I explained earlier and more below. Besides Blench's study see also see Paul S. Seaver, *The Puritan Lectureships: The Politics of Religious Dissent 1560-1662* (1970).

³⁰ I do not count in this tally studies that are bibliographic or broadly historiographic in nature, though they are clearly pertinent to this study. For broader studies of the history of oratory in England and Europe, see Charles A. Fritz, "A Brief Review of the Chief Periods in the History of Oratory" (1922); and Robert T. Oliver, *The Influence of Rhetoric in the Shaping of Great Britain* (1986). These studies, which attend to *public speaking* as much as *rhetoric* in a disciplinary sense, show how little esteemed early modern oratory appears to be, at least in the assessment of civic discourse in

celebrating—the humanist call to participate in the *vita activa* has not prompted subsequent interest in public speaking as part of active citizenship, it is still more curious that recent critiques of the humanist enterprise posit a commonplace negative image of the orator without reference to the contemporary practice of oratory in real civic venues. We may then rephrase Hannah’s eighty-year-old question about Bacon in broader terms, “What is known about civic oratory on the whole during the period?”

Many of these studies do help us see how specific orations played important roles in high political contests. A few (Mack’s and Colclough’s especially) also reveal how specific rhetorical techniques were realized in civic speech for various occasions. But much less is said about how civic oratory served as key tool for expressing civic voice for individuals of varying conditions. And while recent studies have noted how Elizabeth used public speech for political purpose, far more needs to be said about the importance of civic oratory for those on lower steps of the Tudor hierarchy.

For understanding the true cultural import of civic oratory, study of the contemporary rhetorical education alone will not be sufficient. Nor will fictional, historical, or theoretical depictions of the orator fully enlighten our picture of civic

England; its sparseness in comparison to other periods demonstrates well the trends I have been discussing. For bibliographic studies of early modern English speaking, see Bromley Smith, “Queen Elizabeth at the Cambridge Disputations” (1929); James J. Rue and Alan Nichols, “A Misnomer in British Public Address,” (1953); Karl Wallace, “Tudor-Stuart Speakers” (1962); Marcus, “From Oral Delivery to Print.” Smith provides an account of Elizabeth’s oration at Oxford, but provides only the text of the speech, no analysis; consequently it is superseded by later editions, namely Rice and Marcus, *et al.* Rue and Nichols simply correct the naming of one of John Eliot’s speeches within the historical record (Eliot being like Pym, a provocative pre-Civil War MP). Wallace provides a list of sources useful for studying speeches during the period. Other studies are more provocative in terms of how we look at the historical record. Marcus discusses the issue of how the orations in this period were recorded (again, see more below).

speech. The alternate archetypes of the orator may have been ready commonplaces for characterizing speakers, but the archetypes themselves tell us little about how individuals really used speech in civil society, what those individuals expected to gain or lose (if anything) from speaking out, or, much less, how effective specific rhetorical strategies might really be for an individual orator's various purposes.

What better entry point for the examination of civic, oratorical voice in early modern England than a comparative analysis of various citizens speaking in Parliament, a categorically civic institution frequented by prominent English rhetoricians like Thomas Wilson, John Hoskins, and Francis Bacon? (Interestingly, Bacon was the only one to serve *before* writing on rhetoric, which perhaps explains his more modern perspective on the genres of orations in the *Advancement of Learning*.³¹) The English Parliament was not only a public institution whose primary functions concerned all the typical causes of classical deliberative oratory—"finances, war and peace, national defense, imports and exports, and the framing of laws" (*Rhet.* 1.4.7)—but it was also the only public institution that allowed a broad base of citizenry to have a voice in state business, through representation in the House of Commons. To be sure, it was not democratic. The kingdom was divided into three estates of unequal representation and power—Crown,

³¹ Thomas Wilson was an MP in 1563, 1571, 1572 (years represent the beginning of the Parliament, not each session); for other details of Wilson's life see the summary in Sloane, *On the Contrary*, 193-206; interestingly, Sloane hardly mentions Wilson's Parliamentary career, which I have culled from *PiPE*'s index, *sub nomine*. John Hoskins, author of the unpublished but widely circulated *Directions in Speech and Style* (ca. 1599), was elected MP in 1604, 1614, 1628; see Hoyt H. Hudson's Introduction, x. Francis Bacon served in the Commons 1584, 1586, 1593, 1597, 1601, 1604, and 1614 and as Chancellor in the Lords in 1621.

Lords, and Commons.³² Even so, the English monarchical system, or at least its contemporary theorists, did emphasize the need for the Crown and Lords to listen to the common subjects through their representatives. A major goal of my study is to identify the discursive modes by which civic voice could be heard from a variety of citizens for the ostensible purpose of collective decision-making and administration of civic business.

The first chapter, “Training the Elizabethan Orator,” will analyze the institutional background of Parliament and the contemporary rhetorical education. There I will layout the rich intellectual legacy bestowed upon would-be orators, much of which encouraged vocal participation in civic life. There I will also examine the traditional rhetorical genre associated with Parliament, that is, deliberative rhetoric and counsel. The Renaissance conceptualization of this genre exhibits both variance from and conformity with the classical rhetorical tradition. The differences are useful for reconciling classical rhetorical theories with early modern social structures, while the similarities illustrate a resounding appreciation for the classical paradigm, even if it was not entirely applicable for contemporary discourse. Finally, in the first chapter, I will identify the particular institutional restrictions that circumscribed oratorical practice for citizens of various degrees, especially with regards to the relationship between Parliament and political power under Tudor monarchies. This background will, I hope, make the subsequent analysis of speeches more meaningful.

³² Helen Miller, “Lords and Commons” (1983), 17-22; *PuT*, 24-37. Loach outlines the various scenarios for election of shire and borough members, some of which would allow only a handful of enfranchised men to participate. There were some occasions with over a thousand electoral votes. In general, however, the prestigious gentry and patrons of the constituency played a major role in determining who was sent to the Commons.

The remaining chapters focus on three orators and three key orations they delivered in the 1566 Parliament. These orators represent English citizens resting at different rungs of the Elizabethan political ladder. The second chapter, “A Civil Exchange in the English Areopagus,” focuses on Richard Onslow (1527-1571), a lawyer who was at the time the Queen’s Solicitor General, that is, her chief legal counsel. Though a position of respect, it represented a social status well below that of the Lords and Queen. Solicitor General was also below the status of Privy Councilor, the highest place a commoner could occupy in Tudor Government (with the exception perhaps of Sergeants at Law). Indeed, many Councilors were raised to Lordship after years of service. Onslow’s oration provides a useful starting point for exploring how civic speech played a critical role in establishing the terms under which the various entities in the social hierarchy came together to conduct state business and debate civic matters.

The third chapter, “A Privy Councilor in the Commons,” focuses on an oration by Sir Ralph Sadler (1507-1587), Privy Councilor in 1566 and later Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster. Members of the Privy Council who were also members of the Commons have been identified as “managers” of that lower house. The opening sections of this chapter will examine the customary means by which Councilors attempted to direct the Commons towards the sovereign’s agenda, if not by speech, then by other political measures. This analysis of the customary role of Councilors in the Parliament will set up a commonly recognized institutional backdrop, in front of which all debate in the Commons took place. Sadler’s speech, as we shall see, provides a wonderful example of how classical rhetorical form plays out before a venue much less democratic than the Greek Areopagus or the Roman Senate. Here we will address the intersection between

regal and political powers in terms of traditional deliberative debate.

The fourth chapter, “A Citizen’s Duty to Debate,” analyzes an oration delivered by a lower member of the House of Commons. While still a member of the gentry (as far as we can tell), he was not a vested member of the government, nor even a vocal member of Parliament—this one speech excepted. Mr. Lambert, as we shall see, actually attempts to rework and refine the authoritative backdrop woven by Privy Councilors, especially by making an explicit call for free speech. But his speech also attempts to clarify the duties of common citizens in Parliament, especially with regards to shaping public policy, even in areas traditionally considered under royal prerogative. While the speech’s striking arguments both for free speech and about constitutional monarchy are vital for completing the contemporary picture of political history, I will focus on the oratorical methods used to posit these seemingly revolutionary ideas. As I will show, the methods used diverge quite a bit from classical rhetorical form, and instead draw on university dialectic and contemporary sermonic prophesying. The effectiveness of this speech with the immediate audience shows how necessary it is to explore the practice of civic speech in order to understand the relevance (or irrelevance) of particular pieces of contemporary programs of education.

Finally, by way of epilogue, I return to the top of the social hierarchy, where we began this chapter, to consider Elizabeth’s diatribe against oratory and eloquence in the House of Commons, having then a richer understanding of the orations to which she is responding.

Chapter 1. Training the Elizabethan Parliamentary Orator

A well-noted demonstration of how the classical orator set the benchmark for eloquent speech in civil society appears in Sir Thomas Elyot's *The Governour* (1531), a distinctive text in English humanism, especially for its narrow focus on cultivating youth for the *vita activa*.¹ For Elyot, eloquence is a good thing, the means by which governors get things done and maintain order. He is, for the most part, following Roman textbooks on rhetoric by positing the orator as a commanding, civilizing force. Even so, Elyot's suggestion that English boys ought to be brought up to eloquence, a quality of speech he insists cannot be achieved simply by fine Latin phrasing, is accompanied by revealing commentary on the perceived disassociation between the classical ideal of the orator and real public speaking in contemporary English institutions.

Tully . . . affirmed, that a man may not be an oratour, heaped with preise, but if he haue gotten the knowlege of all thinges, and artes of greatest importance. And howe shall an oratour speake of that thyng, that he hath not lerned? And bycause there maye be nothyng, but it maye happen to come in preyse or dyspryse, in consultation or iugemente, in accusation or defence: therefore an oratour, by others instruction perfectly furnyshed, maye in euery matter and lernynge, commende or dyspryse, exhorte or dissuade, accuse or defend eloquently, as occasion hapneth. Wherefore in as moche as in an oratour is required to be a heape of all maner of lernynge, whiche of some is called the worlde of science, of other the circle of doctrine, whiche is in one worde of Greeke ENCYCLOPEDIA, therefore at this daye, maye be founden but a very fewe oratours. For they that come in message from pryncis, be for honour named nowe oratours, if they be in any degre of worshyppe: onely poore men, hauynge equall or more of lernynge, beyng called messagers. (46^r)

We shall soon discuss what this passage owes to the revived classical rhetoric, beyond the obvious Ciceronian idealism. This discussion will then lead to a preliminary

¹ For a discussion of Elyot's interest of the *vir civilis*, see Arthur B. Ferguson, *The Articulate Citizen and the English Renaissance* (1965), 145-197, *passim*; Quentin Skinner, *Reason and Rhetoric* (1996, 2004), 76-82, *passim*.

exposition of the intellectual and institutional contexts supplied for and imposed upon speakers of the 1566 Parliament. First, however, we should recognize that Elyot's statements, if taken at face value, offer as many pitfalls as bridges for modern scholars of rhetoric seeking to understand the triangulated connection between humanist education, Renaissance concepts of eloquence, and civic speech as a particular kind of rhetorical practice.

One minor pitfall would be to read Elyot's dismissive treatment of ambassadors ("messengers"), his divesting them of the Roman orator's toga, as a complete account of where and how the Latin word for *speaker* was used in early modern institutional proceedings. Records of other institutional applications demonstrate that the term *orator* had multiple applications. Cambridge and Oxford, for instance, each appointed an *Orator Universalis*, or "public orator," who stood for the whole university in speaking to distinguished visitors (e.g. kings and queens).² Likewise, pleaders in legal cases would often introduce themselves to the judge with the ceremonious moniker, "poor orator."³ While these other institutional uses of *orator* may not impeach Elyot's main, idealistic point, they indicate that the word itself had fallen out of usage in civic business.

A greater pitfall is to read Elyot's lamentation on the scarcity of true "oratours" as a realistic assessment of contemporary public speakers and civic speaking. While Elyot may well desire *more* eloquent speech in civil society, his expectations for what an orator should know and say would rarely be achieved. Elyot's comparative point of reference

² George Herbert, for instance, was *Orator Universalis* of Cambridge in 1622, when he spoke to welcome a Spanish ambassador: see *True Copies of all the Latine Orations* (1623).

³ Parliament was also a high court, so we see evidence of this usage in Commons proceedings: see, for example, *CJ* 19 May 1604.

may be his friend Thomas More, whose encyclopedic knowledge and civic engagement is well documented.⁴ Elyot surely viewed More as one of the “very few” genuine “orateurs.” We can also assume that More actually performed the key oratorical tasks outlined by Elyot, that is, “to come in preyse or dyspryse, in consultation or iugemente, in accusation or defence.” While satisfying records of his speeches may not be extant, More, as lawyer, judge, Privy Councilor, and Member of Parliament, necessarily spoke in courts of judicature and advisory councils.⁵ If scholars recognize More especially for his humanist *writing*, not his *orations*, it is most probably because those complete and extant texts more fully represent his thoughts, not that he failed to deliver speeches of equal sophistication. Even so, More’s performance as orator may not have been exceptional. Many learned individuals fulfilled each of Elyot’s oratorical tasks as a matter of course, whether serving in the House of Commons, acting as Justice of the Peace, or pleading at the King’s Bench.

Elyot’s judgment that contemporary education falls short in producing orators of classical merit may either reflect his general cynicism about the youth of the day (or their rearing) or reveal a fallacious belief that Cicero was the norm of republican Rome. Perhaps the newness of civic humanism in England prevented Elyot from seeing promising results of the Erasmian reforms (instituted in 1509).⁶ In any case, the historical

⁴ On More’s grasp of literature and humanism, see Edwards Surtz, Introduction to Thomas More, *Utopia* (1516, 1964). The first book of More’s *Utopia* is often seen as a dialogue about civic engagement, in which his alter-ego argues against philosophic disengagement from public life: see Ferguson, *The Articulate Citizen* (1965), 207-220.

⁵ On More’s civil service, Surtz, Introduction (1964), ix. On More’s tenure as Speaker of the Commons, see Dasent, 120-4; *EP* 1:16-9.

⁶ For discussions of Erasmus and his influence English rhetoric and education, see Arthur Leach, Introduction to *Educational Charters* (1911); T. W. Baldwin, *Shakespeare’s*

record for the later Elizabethan period shows that contemporaries granted multiple speakers the title of “orator,” apparently in realization of some ideal of civic speech. Robert Bell, for instance, stands out during the 1563 and 1566 sessions of Parliament as, according to one whimsical account, “the orator” (*EP* 1:91-2). Unfortunately none of his orations from 1566 are extant. For those 1566 speeches available to us, we would do well to examine them as issuing forth from individuals who were accustomed to speaking as both a culmination of their humanist educations and as a regular part of their civic lives. The body of this chapter will show, in fact, that such speakers were expected to be “orators” in the classical sense—“good [men] speaking well,” as Quintilian put it (1.9)—whether or not they achieved the high expectations of Elyot and other humanists.

Elyot’s passage above reveals in fact where early modern civic oratory and classical rhetorical theory meet, namely in Elyot’s codification of civic speaking according to the classical rhetorical genres. Elyot’s outline of the kinds of orations (to “commende or dyspraye, exhorte or dissuade, accuse or defe[nde]d eloquently”—twice in the same sentence) reiterates the tripartite division appearing in Roman and Greek textbooks. Since Aristotle, this division has often been presented succinctly as *epideictic*, *deliberative*, and *judicial* speech (in correspondence to Elyot’s list).⁷ These forms were for ancient rhetoricians connected to real occasions for oratorical performance (funerals, trials, and democratic debates, respectively) set in specific venues, namely, the Greek Areopagus and the Roman Forum and Senate. Not only is the tripartite generic division

Small Latine (1944), chs. iv-vi; Kenneth Charlton, *Education in Renaissance England* (1965), *passim*; David Cressy, Introduction to *Education in Tudor and Stuart England* (1975); Thomas O. Sloane, *On the Contrary* (1996), *passim*.

⁷ George A. Kennedy, *Classical Rhetoric* (1987). In Kennedy’s opinion, the three genres “were the most generally accepted” of all Aristotle’s theories on rhetoric (80).

highlighted at the beginning of the most popular classical handbooks used in Renaissance education, but it was also routinely integrated into early modern texts treating the art of rhetoric, a fact we will explore more below. For Elyot, as with many other humanists, these categories were still relevant, for they still represented real points of civic engagement via public speaking.

But even this *pragmatic* embrace of the classical oratorical paradigm needs to be approached cautiously, because early modern civic institutions were fundamentally different from the Greek Areopagus and Roman Forum and Senate. In fact, the common form of early modern government—a vestige of medieval monarchical feudalism—has lead many modern scholars of the history of rhetoric to suggest that judicial and deliberative forms were essentially dead genres during these periods. The acting authoritarian regimes prevented most citizens from participating in the type of decision making that was the centerpiece of classical oratorical culture.⁸ Consequently, epideictic, largely seen by Roman rhetoricians as rudimentary or unimportant to civic business (*Ad Her.* 3.8.15; *De Or.* 2.10.43; *Orator* 11.37-12.38) has been highlighted by modern scholars for its relevance to speaking for display purposes only or for more or less obsequious praise of powerful individuals deciding things unilaterally.⁹

Other reasons have also been presented to support epideictic's ascendance in Renaissance rhetorical theory. Epideictic techniques, for instance, can be seen in many

⁸ E. R. Curtius, *European Literature* (1953), 157-58; Kenneth Burke, *A Rhetoric of Motives* (1969), 71-72; Brian Vickers, "Epideictic and Epic" (1983), 531n11; Brian Vickers, *In Defence of Rhetoric* (1998), 54.

⁹ The heads of each college of Cambridge in 1622, for instance, welcome the visiting Spanish ambassador with laudatory Latin orations replete with *-issimos*. See *True Copies of all the Latine Orations*. For written examples one need only look at the many dedicatory letters of print publications.

early modern forms of composition, especially in poetic and pedagogic pieces. The most common marker of this genre is the extraordinary attention to verbal amplification for its own sake, a practice which classical rhetoricians found more suitable for epideictic than the other two genres. Aristotle, for instance, portrays the audience for epideictic as “spectators” witnessing an artistic performance (*Rhet* 1.3). In this view, epideictic is not pertinent to action-centered civic business, but rather for diversionary display.¹⁰ Recognizing this perspective, some Renaissance writers explicitly eschew epideictic modes, in order to present themselves as serious counselors on civic matters.¹¹

But epideictic, and along with it poetry, were not always treated so dismissively. Both highlight character as a central subject of discussion, especially in terms of the verbal amplification of moral virtues and past deeds. Epideictic rhetoric’s attention to morality tied it to the act of teaching, that is, displaying or demonstrating some idea at length, for the edification an audience (*Inst. Or.* 3.7.6). Here humanist “orations,” like so many *Ciceroniani* and other didactic praise pieces, provide suitable examples of this function of display rhetoric. For comparison with poetic composition, we need only look at works like Spenser’s *Faerie Queene*, which recounts the virtuous deeds of fictional characters all in the course of laying praise on one powerful real-world figure.¹²

Finally, as Aristotle noted, epideictic rhetoric lends itself to writing (*Rhet.* 3.12.5),

¹⁰ See John Brinsley, *Ludus Literarius: The Grammar Schoole* (1612). Brinsley’s early Stuart teaching manual suggests that “Poetry bee rather for ornament then for any necessary vse,” but he does suggest that such a skill may nonetheless be useful, particularly for traditional epideictic purposes: “sometimes in occasions of triumph and reioicing, more ordinarily at the funerals of some worthy personages” (191)

¹¹ Machiavelli in his *Prince*, for instance. See John F. Tinkler, “Praise and Advice: Rhetorical Approaches in More’s *Utopia* and Machiavelli’s *Prince*,” (1988).

¹² See Brian Vickers, “Epideictic and Epic.”

given its tendency towards extended verbal amplification and extended exposition of a single subject. Humanists took full advantage of the written medium in order to disseminate their lengthy “orations” and “discourses” broadly in epistolary and print forms. The Renaissance writers’ affinity for moral edification through alternately playful and serious modes and their noticeably “artful” verbal crafting, often shared among friends and patrons for amusement, all seem to mesh well with the institutional argument for epideictic’s predominance in the period, especially given the tendency for court culture to interweave theatrical spectacle with political realism. Indeed, Brian Vickers has characterized the rise of epideictic under post-classical regimes as the great “Cinderella” story of rhetoric (*Defense of Rhetoric* 54).

Without discounting the early modern cultivation of these “epideictic” techniques, this chapter will explore Elyot’s implication that educated Tudor citizens were earnestly expected to perform decision-making oratory, not just assign praise and blame. Indeed, part of the modern presumption that deliberative and judicial oratorical forms were relatively unimportant under monarchical regimes stems from the fact that these forms were then *primarily* oral performances, not written products intended for dissemination. Speeches were a customary part of institutional procedure in making judicial and state decisions—unfortunately documenting them fully was not (at least not yet¹³). While a serious look at extant orations can easily back Elyot’s view that decision-making speech

¹³ The first good Parliamentary journals were taken by private individuals, examples of which appear in the various modern editions of Parliamentary proceedings. In this period, however, there was interest in recording certain oratorical performances “verbatim”: see Peter Bales’s *The Writing Schoolemaster* (1590), C^r; John Willis’s *The Arte of Stenography* (1602), A3^v. For a discussion of the documentation of Parliamentary speeches, see T. E. Hartley, Introduction, *PiPE*, vol. 1. David Harris Willson, Preface to Robert Bowyer, *The Parliamentary Diary* (1931), xvi-xvii.

was heard in Tudor England (even from common citizens under strong monarchs), in this chapter I will rather show various ways in which vocal input on civic matters was cultivated to a surprisingly large degree by both formal schooling and professional training. Our starting point for formulating a fuller concept of Elizabethan civic voice will be to recount some formative activities and readings assigned in standard education. The endpoint will be an examination of Parliament as a particular venue for collective decision making. In between, we will explore classical and Renaissance theories of deliberative rhetoric and counsel, the genres most relevant to decision-making orations.

I. Beyond Rhetoric: The Many Expressions of Civic Voice in Early Modern Education

Heretofore, I have discussed various studies addressing the Renaissance attention to the figure of the orator, a phenomenon that many scholars have connected to the renewed dominance of classical rhetoric in traditional liberal arts education. But while the early modern fixation on the archetype of the orator may indeed be inextricably linked to the contemporary revival of classical rhetorical texts, modern scholars should recall as well the humanist belief that the ideal orator was not assumed to be formed by rhetorical skill alone, but rather from a variety of reading and mature compositional exercises: Elyot desired an encyclopedia, not a rule book. In fact, Elyot, after the passage cited earlier, takes extra pains to distinguish orators from *rhetoricians*:

[T]hey, which only teache rhetorike (whiche is the science, wherby is taught an artificiall fourme of spekyng, wherin is the power to perswade, moue, and delyte, or by that science onely do speake or write without any admynistratyon of other sciences) ought to be named rhetoriciens, de clamatours, artificiall speakers (named in Greke Logodedali) or any other name than oratours.

Mere artistry may indeed have been taught as sufficient for crafting school declamations and other orations for public display, but such compositions did not demonstrate the eloquent and influential civic voice so lauded in Elyot's vision of the orator. But Elyot's evaluative assessment of speakers aside, we may nonetheless acknowledge that the "furnysh[ing]" supplied to prospective orators by their humanist educators, many of which Elyot would label rhetoricians, did in fact go far beyond what is treated in both classical and contemporary rhetorical texts, even if, as many scholars have argued, some kind of demonstrative oratorical performance was the desired end of formal education. A summary account of the early modern student's encounter with the liberal arts *trivium* will help us understand what Elyot and his colleagues might expect both from and beyond rhetorical training proper.

While the humanist curriculum has been studied extensively for its cultivation of eloquent phrasing, introduction to the classical literary landscape, and indoctrination in the contemporary moral code (among other things), I will focus rather on how it gradually exposed students to a variety of expressive voices. Most of the material that follows draws upon research on the forms and syllabi of early modern classrooms.¹⁴ However, I slice up the curriculum differently. Rather than isolate various programs of instruction, I will rather highlight particular expressive modes demonstrated by and

¹⁴ See *Educational Charters*, ed. Leach (1911); Baldwin, *Shakespeare's Small Latine*; Charlton, *Education in Renaissance England*; Peter Mack, *Elizabethan Rhetoric* (2002). Mack provides a good digest of material buried in Baldwin's tome on Shakespeare's education. Mack's table of four syllabi drawn from Baldwin's exhaustive study has been used to identify some common school texts (13). Mack also cites as norm the early Stuart teaching manual written by Brinsley, *Ludus Literarius*. See also Roger Ascham, *The Schoolmaster* (1570, 1967). I analyze specific curricular texts presented in Mack's and Leach's syllabi, and consult Brinsley and Ascham for pedagogy.

acquired through reading and composition exercises.

The “voices” outlined below are presented in roughly the order a student would “hear” them, from those first acquired in formal education, and therefore most commonly, to those exposed to individuals eventually pursuing particular professions. Such an organization, however, does not imply that the early voices need be heard in full before moving on to the next, or that they were entirely left behind once understood. *All* of these voices contribute to the ongoing amalgamation of *civic voice* resonating within educated Elizabethans. Echoes can be heard in the categorically civic speeches of Parliamentary oratory, as Table X indicates. In subsequent chapters we will have occasion to analyze more closely the deliberate and nuanced recital of these voices within specific speeches delivered in the 1566 session.

Catechistic and Catholic Voices: Learning the Universal Language of Latin

If an English child acquired any form of literacy or formal language instruction, it would include catechisms and prayer books issued with government sanction for the predominant religious discipline of the time. Often students learned their letters by practicing these religious forms. Typically, *petty schools* took on this task of basic English literacy instruction, which was often required before students could be admitted to grammar school. This vernacular literacy, moreover, prepared children for a life requiring attendance and participation in church rituals (Charlton 98-101).

Forms of ceremonial discourse related to spiritual worship probably instilled in English citizens a sense of communal, and consequently civic, voice. Given that the church was the most common point of contact with the national government,

participation and recital of catechism and prayer may well have been crucial for demonstrating one's connection to the Christian commonwealth. Some prayer books called on citizens to pray for their magistrates as a matter of course, and public prayer was a regular activity outside of church. Each Parliament always began with a sermon, and the House of Commons routinely opened daily proceeding with prayer.

The overall humanist program of education had even higher aspirations that depended on the broad and proficient use of the Latin language. While Latin may not seem to be the ideal community-building language for England, Walter Ong has pointed out that the shared challenge of learning Latin may well have constituted a kind of “Renaissance puberty rite,” one solidifying community status for young males. In any case, the Latin language instruction at grammar school proper began with the same ceremonial forms practiced in petty school and at church services. Thus some of the first Latin readings are catechism and prayers, forms children already acquired in English.

While performing these readings, students would also be drilled in their Latin grammar. These drills included oral recitation of rules drawn directly out of grammar textbooks or demonstrated in small pieces of Latin. These activities often involved question-answer formats resembling the catechism.¹⁵ But there was more to this instruction than grammatical rules. Using a grammar like Lily's *Introduction of the Eyght Partes of Speche* (1543), students would also see a preview of topics and names important to later readings—and indeed to the world of learning. In learning the genitive case, for instance, students would hear about the “*Facundia Ciceronis*” (G.ii^f); in learning the use of superlative with the genitive, that “*Cicero oratorum eloquentissimus*” (G.iii^f).

¹⁵ See examples of grammar questioning in Brinsley, *Ludus Literarius*. 52-88.

For seven-year-old boys, *Cicero* may simply have been a word in an exercise—the name and his Latin, however, would eventually be fleshed out in grand proportions.

Gnomic Voices: Memorizing Ancient Maxims

Students first encountered classical Latin literature through moral maxims or *sententiae*. J. E. Neale, in his biography of Elizabeth Tudor, describes these elements of her education as “little versions of maturity” (*Queen Elizabeth I* 12), no doubt because they tend to preview social situations encountered by adults (e.g., married life, financial responsibility, civic duty, etc). The *Disticha Catonis*, probably the most consistently taught Latin school-text from republican Rome to imperial England (Aesop excepted), included four books of two-line moral verses accompanied shorter *monosticha*. The sentences, though ascribed to the elder Cato, not the younger, are nonetheless decidedly Stoic in tenor, and therefore, like other classical Stoic writings, a good fit for Christian humanist classrooms. The first distich of the first book reads, for instance, “Si Deus est animus ut nobis carmina dicunt / Hic tibi preacipue sit pura mente colendus,” or “If God be spirit, as bards represent, / He must be worshipped with clean intent.”¹⁶ Most of the verses, however, treat questions of practical morality, for instance, how to act towards a friend (loyally), how to use money (parsimoniously), how to work (diligently).

One particular collection of gnomic literature stands out as both a likely course of instruction and as evidence of the relevance of such literature to early modern English education. Erasmus’s combined edition of *Disticha Catonis*, Publius Syrus’s *Mimi*

¹⁶ For my translations of *Cato*, I use *Dicta Catonis* in *Minor Latin Poets*, translated by J. Wight Duff and Arnold M. Duff (1982).

Publiani, and Isocrates's *Ad Demonicum* was published repeatedly in England.¹⁷

Accompanied by Erasmus's commentary, each section presents a separate, classical catalogue of proverbial wisdom. Besides exposing students to basic Latin vocabulary, these texts also gradually increase in size and cohesiveness, effectively taking students from the two-word *monosticha* prefacing *Cato* to connected series of poetically rendered *sententiae*, and finally to Isocrates's written oration *Ad Demonicum* (which Hieronymous Wolf had translated into Latin). Isocrates's "speech" is basically a book of *sententiae* prefaced by an exhortatory call to duty.

Besides progressively leading students to more mature forms of composition, the sentences themselves indoctrinate students with a particularly Stoic civic virtue, one that accompanied them into maturity, no doubt because their later literature highlighted this same ethic. Mack has noted the general significance of these rudimentary readings to contemporary composition, a point he highlights by noting Peter Wentworth's use of a proverb to open his famous and controversial 1576 speech (*Elizabethan Rhetoric* 1).

Table 1 shows other cases where *sententiae* were used in the Elizabethan Parliament.

Beyond noting the mature use of these rudimentary Latin texts, we should also recognize that many of the proverbs say something about when and how to speak one's mind. The *Disticha Catonis*, for instance, contains multiple sentences encouraging readers to be silently wise (1.3; 1.10; 3.19), avoid verbal conflict (1.36; 2.11; 2.15; 2.29),

¹⁷ The title for the 1532 edition is *Catonis Moralia*. *EEBO*'s records show that this collection was published in England 1532, 1572, 1592, 1607, 1610, 1621, 1623, 1625, 1628, 1634, 1641, etc. Remember that most school-texts in England came from the continent until English printers were granted monopolies in the 1570s. Consequently a wealth of printings after 1570 might not indicate a change in educational priorities, but rather a new opportunity for those English printers to cash in on standard texts.

and rise above rumor (1.12; 1.17; 1.27; 2.20)—in other words, to take a cautious stance towards public discourse, both as speaker and auditor. Such rudimentary sentences are probably a key source of those more “sophisticated” attitudes towards eloquence cited by Vickers and other scholars in Elizabethan drama (see introduction). However, balancing out these more cynical attitudes, other sentences *encourage* verbal counsel (2.9; 2.22; 3.10). One particular distich on counsel stands out as pertinent to the 1566 Parliament:

- 1.9. Cum moneas aliquem, neque se velit ille moneri
si tibi sit carus, noli desistere coeptis.
[or] In warning one who fain would not attend,
Drop not the endeavour, should he be your friend.

Perhaps the MPs who so offended Elizabeth by giving her advice on matters under her prerogative were simply recalling their *Cato*, expressing how dear she was to them.

Ludic Voices: Acting Out Classical Conversation and Stories

Soon after reciting their catechisms and ancient maxims, perhaps to balance out the serious tone of those texts and exercises, students would encounter lighter Latin literature, at least in regard to tone, not the language itself. We may recall at this point that Renaissance educators preferred to characterize their Latin grammar curriculum as a *ludus literarius*.¹⁸ This “literary game” referred to a highly interactive means of Latin language acquisition, one involving paraphrase, translation, recitation, and other oral and written exercises intended to engage students, or at least keep them busy.¹⁹ Even so, many of the texts have a humorous and fanciful tone, one that cannot have been missed

¹⁸ This title phrase for Brinsley’s book on teaching Latin is taken from Ascham, *The Schoolmaster*, 6. Cf. Brinsley, *Ludus Literarius*, A3^r.

¹⁹ Compare Brinsley, *Ludus Literarius*, A3-A4.

even in the most pious classrooms. Indeed, it was not long after acquiring the wisdom of the ancients that students would also embrace their folly.

Aesop's fables, like *Cato*, were a staple of education for nearly two millennia. They were among the first texts printed by Caxton (1484). In fact, many editions of Aesop would be printed in both Latin and English, each accompanied with more or less commentary on the moral lesson taught by each fable.²⁰ And while the fantastic elements of the fables and the inevitable folly portrayed by some characters may have provided a welcome diversion from Latin language acquisition, as Elyot notes, in them "is . . . moche morall and polytyke wysedome" (28^r). It was from Aesop, for instance, that students would first acquire the concept of the body politic, as presented in the "Fable of the Belly," wherein the extremities rebel against the demanding stomach, bringing all down together. As we shall see, the body politic is an important figure in the 1566 speeches. In fact, Aesop contains many other moral concepts that proved relevant to Parliamentary debate. "The Fable of the Dog and the Wolf" in some editions appeared immediately after that of the "Belly." This tale depicts a domesticated dog and a wild wolf weighing the relative merits of comfort versus freedom. It begins, fittingly enough, with the very maxim that Mack cites in Wentworth's speech.

Other texts falling under this category tended to be introduced not for their playful moral lessons—or for any moral edification at all—but for other specific pedagogic purposes. Terence's plays, which include quite a bit of salacious content, were often

²⁰ In *EEBO*, we find editions for 1502, 1503, 1514, 1535, 1551, 1571, 1585, 1624, etc. In the third chapter, I treat the differing *scholia* for Aesop's "Fable of the Belly."

Table 1. References to School Texts in the Elizabethan Parliament (not exhaustive)

School texts and topics mentioned	Speakers (Year, <i>PiPE</i> reference) *=footnoted in <i>PiPE</i>
GNOMIC VOICES	
<i>Disticha Catonis</i>	Robert Cecil (1593, 3:71)
<i>Mimi Publiani</i> or Seneca	Nicholas Bacon (1559, 1:48*); Thomas Atkins (1572, 1:331*)
Plutarch's <i>Moralia</i>	Thomas Digges and Thomas Dannet (1572, 1:297*)
LUDIC VOICES	
Aesop	Robert Bell (1572, 1:415); Thomas Digges (1585, 2:112)
Terence	William Fleetwood (1571, 1:223)
STOIC VOICES	
Cicero's <i>De Officiis</i>	Mr. Lambert (1566, 1:129); Anon. (1571, 1:227*); [Peter Wentworth] (1587, 1:327*); Mr. Symnell (1601, 3:436)
Other philosophical Cicero	Robert Bell (1571, 1:234); Aglionby (1571, 1:240); William Fleetwood (1572, 1:398)
PUBLIC AND PRIVATE VOICES	
<i>Historical Romans</i> : Scipio, Caesar , Hortensius, Crassus, Alexander Severus	Nicholas Bacon (1563, 1:76); Thomas Wilson (1571, 1:233); Edward Fenner (1572, 1: 356; Thomas atkins (1572, 1:377); Walter Mildmay (1580, 1:503); Nicholas Potts (1585, 2:121)
<i>Historical Greeks</i> : Philip of Macedon; Demosthenes, Alexander the Great	Thomas Williams (1563, 1:110); George Ireland (1572, 1:373; 1585, 2:112); Christopher Hatton (1587, 2: 387); Robert Cecil (1601, 3:398)
Livy	Thomas Digges and Thomas Dannet (1572, 1:297*); Francis Alford (1572, 1:327*); Thomas Wilson (1572, 1:329); Henry Jackman (1589, 2:479*)
Seutonius	Lords' petition to marry (1563, 1:62*); Francis Alford (1572, 1:327*); Thomas Wilson (1572, 1:329)

presented to the younger boys to hone their conversational Latin.²¹ While the Latin lesson may explain Terence's presence on syllabi, his characters, from lusty servants to wise old men helped inculcate the ironic modes of expression so absent from the ancient maxims and dry catechisms. Clearly Renaissance drama writers were influenced by Terence. Yet he, like *Cato* and Aesop, was also brought into the Parliament house, as Table 1 shows.

Erasmus (not to mention others) produced his own amusing *Colloquies* that could replace Terence for scandalized instructors who needed to teach conversational Latin.

²¹ See Ascham, *Schoolmaster*, 143-4; Baldwin, *Shakespeare's Small Latine*, 1:726.

While the only instance I have found of Erasmus's *Colloquies* being invoked in Parliament appears in a debate *about* school texts (Erasmus's virtuous text is contrasted with Ovid's lascivious *Ars Amatoria*—*PiPE* 2:40), they follow the roughly the same pattern as Terence's comedic pieces, placing wise, less wise, and utterly simple characters together in dialogue, by which students could laugh at the fool's "wisdom" paraded before them, even as they learned to take on the role of the wise corrector. This paradigm of discussion leads well into genres of rhetoric designed to give counsel (see later section).

Under this category fall a great many canonical classical poetic texts. Later in the curriculum especially, students would read more sophisticated works of Latin poetry, which represent advanced versions of fable and dialogue: for example, Ovid's *Metamorphoses* and Virgil's *Eclogues*. These could be read alongside satires of Juvenal, Perseus, and Horace, which transfer the playful story-telling modes to more obvious political and social commentary. Here I will also mention Virgil's *Aeneid*, which would rather be classified as epic (and therefore tragic, not ludic), but nonetheless cultivates story-telling as a key means of conveying values and depicting figures in civic contests. As one might guess, Parliamentary speakers drew on the same classical catalogue of gods, heroes, and monsters typically used by Renaissance poets: Speakers might be caught between Sylla and Carybdis (*PiPE* 1:230) or invoke the figure of wise old Nestor.

Pseudo-Stoic Voices: Contemplating Virtue

This category of Latin literature is one of the most important to consider for our later discussion of deliberative rhetoric, primarily because these texts explain the rudimentary moral philosophy that informed classical rhetorical composition. Cicero's

philosophical works especially outline the full conceptual foundation of topics routinely evoked in rhetorical textbooks, not to mention treatises on ethics. *Honor, duty, virtue*, and *profit*, which sound so trite and general to modern ears, would have had full and specific meaning for even moderately educated Elizabethans.

While a great many of Cicero's philosophical texts were used in grammar schools, *De Officiis* stands out for its commonness in extant English syllabi and for its clarity in outlining the chief topics of moral philosophy. This rudimentary philosophical text is divided into three books: the first teaches about honor (*honestas*), that is, the four cardinal virtues, *wisdom, justice, temperance*, and *courage*; the second teaches about profit (*utilitas*), also equated in the Renaissance to *advantage* or *expediency*; the third book teaches the duties of individuals in particular situations where honor and profit seem to be at odds. This text was quite useful for indoctrinating young boys in what it means to be a "good man," the first part of the oratorical ideal of producing a "good man speaking well." That it was also written by the *oratorum eloquentissimus* made it especially persuasive. (If a schoolmaster had reservations about Cicero's pagan introduction to virtue, he could use Mancini's Christianized *De Quatuor Virtutibus*.)

In effect, *De Officiis* was a classical conduct book revived for early modern use. Unlike those conduct books written in the Renaissance under its accepted hierarchical social conditions (e.g., Machiavelli's *Prince* or Elyot's *Governour*), Cicero's writings can be directed to a fairly general audience of citizens and family members, even to children, assuming some assistance were provided. The same can be said, more or less, of the other Ciceronian philosophical texts taught in the middle and upper forms of grammar school. Of these, some, like *Tusculan Disputations*, *De Finibus*, *De Natura Deorum*, and

Paradoxa Stoicorum, presented contemplative Stoic philosophy that meshed well with teachings on Christian cosmology and piety. Others, like *De amicitia* and *De senectute*, address particular behaviors and life issues related to civil society in general. Many of these texts and topics within them were invoked in Parliament. See Table 1.

Public and Private Voices: Reviving the Ancients through Letters, Orations, and History

Students would also sample Cicero's large catalogue of letters and orations. While the orations were generally saved for the higher forms, where they would be taught in conjunction with rhetorical principles, the letters would sometimes be introduced shortly after the moral sentences. Johann Sturm greatly aided the early introduction of Cicero's epistolary writing by compiling "four books" of Cicero's letters "ad familiares," which progressed from brief notes to his spouse and attendants (a few sentences, and those not your typical Ciceronian periods) to longer compilations discussing various public exploits with friends. Such an arrangement of Cicero's epistles not only previewed in accessible manner a common form of composition that students would practice later in grammar school, but also fleshed out the human face of the most taught author in Renaissance education. In effect, the combined reading of Cicero's letters, orations, and philosophical texts must have given a complete picture of this most celebrated orator. Perhaps this panoramic view, from mundane details of domestic life to lofty exploits in Roman civic affairs, left very little for Renaissance fiction writers to fill in—they say little about

Cicero in their historical dramas.²² In any case, orators who actually participated in state business found his public speeches and private writings worthy of citation (see Table 1).

Beyond Cicero's first person pieces, however, students consumed histories and orations from other Latin and Greek authors and orators, some of the latter serving as material for advanced students attempting Greek, but others (e.g., Isocrates) already translated into Latin. The historical texts included writers like Caesar, Livy, Tacitus, and Sallust, each of which provided not simply historical details, but accounts of critical orations shaping ancient political contests. Indeed, history was often proffered as a good means for exposing students to exemplary oratorical performance.²³ The accompanying historical details of course contextualized the speeches. Consequently, historians were often excerpted as a way to introduce collections of orations published separately.²⁴

The significance of this exposure to contextual information provided by histories should not be discounted because it shows that Renaissance educators were not strictly interested in cultivating oratorical form and style, but rather they also sought to develop in students a sense of engaged civic voice, that is, an understanding of real rhetorical purposes beyond delightful display. Students reading Livy, for example, would learn of Menenius Agrippa's oration recounting Aesop's "Fable of the Belly" in order to reconcile disagreeing members of the body politic, a delightful anecdote that nonetheless illustrates

²² Note that Cicero's letters discuss subjects pertinent to civic speech as well as private matters: J. Richard McNally, "Comments on Rhetoric and Oratory in Cicero's Letters" (1973). See also Ben Jonson's comments on Cicero in his preface to *Catiline*.

²³ See, for instance, Elyot, *Governour*, 38.

²⁴ See, for example, Wilson's translation of Demosthenes, *The Three Orations of Demosthenes Chiefe Orator among the Grecians*. (1570).

the function of speech in maintaining social order.²⁵ Students could read more vivid demonstrations of civic oratory once they came to Cicero's series of speeches against Cataline or Demosthenes series against Philip of Macedon—both of which show how the very oratorical venues from which these orators spoke (the Roman Senate and Greek Areopagus) served as chief means for resisting martial powers outside those venues. The fact that this material was dated did not stop Parliamentary speakers from citing specific historical paradigms where they seemed analogous to the current political contests.

Artistic, Expressive, and Persuasive Voices: Finishing the Student with Rhetoric

Here finally is that part of the curriculum highlighted most by modern scholars of Renaissance education. Once in the upper half of grammar school, students began focused instruction on various rhetorical genres and techniques. Up until this point, they would have focused primarily on construing, translating, and paraphrasing progressively larger pieces of Latin passages. After students had learned a sufficient amount of Latin language and literature, they would move beyond rote exercises to produce Latin compositions of some length and ingenuity, even extended orations. Yet, while humanist curricula often presented oral declamation as the destination of grammar school

²⁵ See Wayne Rebhorn, *The Emperor of Men's Minds* (1995), 222-231. Rebhorn identifies a number of Renaissance writers commenting on Livy's account of this incident. Rebhorn notes, "It occurs, by my count, in no fewer than nine texts from the period" (222), including Shakespeare's *Coriolanus*, Thomas Wilson's *Arte of Rhetorique*, and Richard Rainold's *Foundacions of Rhetorike* (1563). Below I will cite a few other texts not mentioned by Rebhorn, including Reinhard Lorich's edition of Aphthonius's *Progymnasmata*, loosely the source for Rainold's *Foundacion*, and Erasmus's *De Conscribendis Epistolis*, a key source for Wilson's *Rhetorique*. Lorich's *Progymnasmata* and Erasmus's *De Conscribendis*, as I will discuss below, are principle (both first and central) composition textbooks for early modern English grammar school curricula.

education, the fertile midway between reading and speaking was usually written composition. If the extant syllabi are any indication, there were two alternate courses leading students from their Latin foundations to their declamatory capstone.²⁶ Both courses, not mutually exclusive, though certainly redundant, have their bases in classical oratorical culture, one through original textbooks and classroom practice, the other through an oratorical reclassification of early modern written correspondence.

The first rhetorical track followed the ancient program of *progymnasmata*, a writing curriculum that took students gradually from smaller to larger forms, effectively mirroring the reading program.²⁷ While Quintilian discusses *progymnasmata* briefly as an effective way of training orators (Murphy, “Key Role of Habit” 62-3), the canonical textbooks for *progymnasmata* would not be written until after Roman rhetoric had waned; they would come, moreover, from Byzantium. The most influential *progymnasmata* textbook in the early modern period was that written by Aphthonius (ca. 5th century) and translated into Latin during the Renaissance by Rudolph Agricola. Reinhard Lorich’s extensive commentary on Agricola’s translation was published frequently for school use.²⁸

²⁶ The two paths, *progymnasmata* and epistolary, are discussed at length in Brinsley, *Ludus Literarius*, 165-190. Compare Mack, *Elizabethan Rhetoric*, 24-9. Note that Brinsley seems to imply that epistolary writing goes before *progymnasmata* “themes,” which lead into declamation. I treat them as two alternate tracks, given that the syllabi collated by Mack never contain both.

²⁷ For scholarly discussions of *progymnasmata* in Roman and Renaissance education see Donald Lemen Clark, *John Milton at St. Paul’s School* (1948); Joan Marie Lechner, *Renaissance Concepts of the Commonplaces* (1962); George A. Kennedy, *Classical Rhetoric* (1980); James J. Murphy, “The Key Role of Habit in Roman Writing Instruction” (2001), 35-78; Abbott, “Rhetoric and Writing in the Renaissance” (2001).

²⁸ Another important textbook on *progymnasmata* was written by Hermogenes, whom Elyot recommends (*Governour* 34^v). Hermogenes’s text was published many

Lorich's commentary enhances the original translation significantly for the purposes of humanist education, both by adding extra examples and also by linking Byzantine Greek points of reference to the Latin staples of the humanist curriculum. By themselves, Aphthonius's forms serve well enough as a series of gradually upsized writing exercises, each giving students new inventive and organizational challenges. The fourteen forms are "Fabula, Narratio, Chreia, Sententia, Confutatio, Confirmatio, Locus communis, Laudatio, Vituperatio, Comparatio, Ethopoeia, Descriptio, Thesis, Legislatio" (A2^v). The list itself is a little deceptive, because, while the first two and most of the final ten describe a compositional genre actually taught by the textbook, the third, fourth, and sixth (*chreia*, maxim or *sententia*, and commonplace or *locus communis*) identify a borrowed piece of text students were instructed to *write about*, for instance, by praising the author, by paraphrasing the passage, or by analyzing various conceptual categories, such as confirmation, similarity, contrast, usefulness. These special topics for writing about writing overlap by design with larger generic forms (e.g., *laudatio* and *vituperatio*), which progressively encourage students to express their opinions on themes in accordance with basic artistic guidelines for structure and content.

Not only does Lorich's commentary highlight the overlap of genres, it also supports the usefulness of even the rudimentary, opening forms for serious rhetorical purposes. For instance, whereas Aphthonius emphasizes fable as a form of poetry useful nonetheless in rhetoric, Lorich's *scholia* supply numerous historical examples of orators

times on the continent, but not in England (see Murphy, *Renaissance Rhetoric*, sect. 463). It was gradually replaced by Aphthonius's *Progymnasmata* (see Murphy, *Renaissance Rhetoric*, sect. 73). I use the first English publication of Lorich's edition. It was printed eight times in England (1572, 1580, 1583, 1596, 1623, 1631, 1635, and 1636). An earlier edition of Aphthonius's text was translated by Gentian Hervet in 1520.

(*oratores*) using fables to persuade an audience. One of his first examples, interestingly enough, reminds readers of the passage in Livy where Menenius Agrippa recounts Aesop's fable of the body politic in order to quell the mob. Lorch also notes where Demosthenes uses a fable in the Areopagus (A3). If students did not believe that the literature they were consuming had relevance to life outside the classroom, all instructors need do was recite Lorch's commentary, among which there are many connections between literary texts and actual oratorical performance.

One other piece of commentary is worth mentioning for its assistance in placing Aphthonius in line with the classical rhetorical texts taught later in formal education. One Lorch's first notes cross-references twelve of Aphthonius's fourteen forms with the more standard tripartite division of oratorical genre into deliberative (fable, narrative, maxim, *chreia*, thesis), epideictic (praise, blame, description, *ethopoeia*), and judicial (refutation, confirmation, commonplace, comparison).²⁹ Lorch's categorization takes Aphthonius's simple exercises beyond the classroom into the canonical venues of civic speech, effectively providing the theoretical framework explaining how such literature is of practical relevance to orators, a framework supported in part by Lorch's many oratorical examples. To be sure, some of Lorch's cross-referencing contradicts classical principles (for instance, where he places *narratio* under deliberative rather than judicial rhetoric). But what we should notice rather is Lorch's impulse to try to make the classroom literature mesh with the classical codification of civic speech, the foundation of

²⁹ Lorch actually mentions only twelve of his fourteen forms. Note that other commentaries on *progymnasmata* texts categorize some of the same exercises differently: see Lechner, *Renaissance Concepts of the Commonplaces*, 111-112; George A. Kennedy, *Classical Rhetoric* (1980), 164.

Aristotelian and Roman oratorical texts. By doing so, Lorich makes Aphthonius a stronger lynchpin connecting Latin literature firmly with more sophisticated rhetorical instruction coming later, all the while allowing students to explore diverting forms of expression and compile their inner encyclopedias.

By contrast, the other rhetorical track, the epistolary track, was more thoroughly adapted to early modern culture, probably because a humanist wrote the original textbook. Erasmus's *De Conscribendis Epistolis*, published without authorization in England in 1519 and later with the author's approval on the continent in 1521, approached rhetorical composition from the perspective of letter-writing, effectively interjecting Renaissance classicism into a rich medieval legacy of *ars dictaminis*.³⁰ Erasmus's early textbook served as model for later Latin textbooks that were also published in England, in particular, George Macropedius's *Methodus de Conscribendis Epistolis* (1543) and Christopher Hegendorff's *Methodus Conscribendi Epistolis* (1537).³¹ The epistolary route to rhetoric must have been particularly effective in those classrooms assigning Cicero's epistles—indeed we see that a few syllabi reflect this coupling of classical texts to early modern textbooks (Mack, *Elizabethan Rhetoric* 13). Erasmus and his followers, moreover, conveniently cites Cicero's letters as examples.

Like the *progymnasmata* program, the epistolary handbooks included a catalogue of forms with basic guidelines for structure and content. Unlike the program of *progymnasmata*, epistolary genres were not presented in the textbooks as a series of

³⁰ For a discussion of the medieval *ars dictaminis*, see James J. Murphy, *Rhetoric in the Middle Ages* (1974). Murphy notes that this was one area of medieval innovation.

³¹ I use a combined edition of these letter-writers published in 1580 in England as Macropedius's *Methodus*. It also includes a brief version of Erasmus's *De Copia*.

progressively more sophisticated composition exercises. Rather, Erasmus's textbook mimicked the classical textbooks on rhetoric, presenting the forms as part of broad, abstract generic categories: first he teaches deliberative forms, then epideictic, then judicial. Again, this division established continuity with the classical oratorical handbooks students encountered later. Conveniently, Aristotle had established the original tripartite division genre not simply on the basis of oratorical venue, but also according to more abstract concepts of time, that is, persuading on decisions related to the *future* (deliberative) or the *past* (judicial), and praising and blaming for the *present* (epideictic). Erasmus follows this scheme with two significant alterations. First, Erasmus provides a great variety of subgenres beyond the traditional pro-con bifurcation (which was taught in the classical handbooks—see more below):

The majority of rhetoricians have approved of three classes of subject: persuasive, encomiastic, and judicial. To these as to their sources most forms of letters are assigned, so that under the heading of 'persuasive' one usually places these subdivisions: conciliation, reconciliation, encouragement, discouragement, persuasion, dissuasion, consolation, petition, recommendation, admonition, and the amatory letter. In the demonstrative category belong accounts of persons, regions, estates, castles, springs, gardens, mountains, prodigies, storms, journeys, banquets, buildings, and processions. The judicial class usually comprises accusation, complaint, defence, protest, justification, reproach, threat, invective, and entreaty. (sect. 32)³²

The second modification of the tripartite division of genre is to add a fourth broad genre: "familiar letters." It too included many subgenres.

To these three it will be possible to add a fourth class which, if you please, we shall call the familiar. It may include the following types: narrative, when we describe for those at a distance an event that has taken place near us; informative, when we announce a piece of news, whether of a public, private, or domestic nature; congratulatory, when we are pleased at our

³² I use the University of Toronto translation; see Bibliography.

friends' happiness; mournful, when we bewail either our own troubles or those of our acquaintances; mandatory, when we entrust to another a piece of business to be carried out on our behalf. There is also the type which contains the giving of thanks, when we show our gratitude for the actions of a benefactor; the laudatory letter, when we praise a child or someone under our authority for doing his duty; the obliging letter, (this is the term I have devised for it) when we voluntarily promise a friend our support and interest; and the humorous one, when we entertain someone's spirit with amusing wit. (sect. 32)

Given the references to praise ("laudatory letter") and "business," these familiar forms seem to overlap somewhat in purpose with the subgenres falling under the first three divisions. In any case, it is noteworthy to see how Erasmus has vastly enriched the codification of civic voice, in part by breaking down the original decision-making genres into more nuanced forms, in part by including non-civic rhetorical forms alongside traditional civic genres. It may be that these "familiar" forms served as preliminary exercises, given that the students would probably have more use for them in their private lives. Sturm's collection of Cicero's letters supports the idea that the conveyance of news, domestic matters, and personal affection were rudimentary forms of expression.³³

And yet, even though Erasmus makes it possible for students to view rhetorical composition as a written activity and primarily personal, he, like Lorich, emphasizes the oratorical roots of rhetoric not only by borrowing classical genres, but also by highlighting the grand, civic efficacious eloquence of orators. Erasmus does this first in the introductory section of the formulary, where he discusses style (among other things). Classical orators, Cicero and Pericles, provide his benchmarks for the various kinds of elocution required in letters (15; sect. 3). Erasmus also repeatedly highlights orators as the standard-bearers of rhetorical performance elsewhere in the text. For instance, in

³³ Brinsley recommends Sturm's collection as "most fitte for children" (167).

discussing exhortatory letters, he notes, “in this sphere the orator should be especially skilled.” Under persuasive letters, he gives an extended section on “The dilemma and other kinds of oratorical arguments” (110-129; sect. 46). Purists would note that his “oratorical arguments” borrow from dialectic in treating syllogism and common topics (just as did classical rhetoricians—see more below). It is interesting that, even in an epistolary manual suggesting that readers recognize a wide variety of written rhetoric, Erasmus nonetheless references oratory as the standard paradigm for mustering all one’s collective learning and skill into purposeful compositions.

In presenting these two tracks I want to emphasize how early modern educators encouraged students to use the knowledge and understanding they acquired from their Latin readings, in conjunction with particular rhetorical purposes, especially those theoretically linked to venues of civic discourse. Some instructors may even have integrated the simpler classical handbooks into higher forms, especially the *Ad Herennium* and Cicero’s *Partitiones Oratoriae*, necessarily calling attention to the civic functions of the oratorical genres, especially in comparison with poetic, philosophic, or pedagogic discourse.³⁴ Or instructors might use Melancthon’s *Institutiones Rhetoricae* (1521), which follows a more standard classical focus on demonstrative, deliberative, and judicial orations. Melancthon, moreover, repeatedly refers to classical orators in explaining the proper strategies for each genre. Even so, even this classically organized textbook adds a fourth genre of “didactic” rhetoric, which previews for younger students their eventual study of dialectic at the university, where in fact students would be called upon to think critically about classical rhetorical genres and forms, all while consuming a

³⁴ Elyot recommends Cicero’s “partycion of rhetorike” (*Governour* 34^r).

healthy dose of moral and political philosophy.³⁵

However, I do not wish to diminish the other rhetorical training grammar school students received, which included instruction on tropes and schemes and rudimentary forms of argumentation. Erasmus's other popular school-text, *De Copia Verborum et Rerum*, provides guidance for cultivating stylistic variance and treating all kinds of subject matters.³⁶ Other textbooks, like the Ramus and Talon's twin texts on rhetoric and dialectic, offer similar instruction on particular analytical and compositional techniques. Mack, in his *Elizabethan Rhetoric*, provides a convenient list of "skills," among which one finds these commonly emphasized techniques of rhetorical composition. Alongside them, we see also often overlooked features of the curriculum, some alluded to earlier:³⁷

- | | |
|--------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| 1. Moral sentences | 7. Thinking about an audience |
| 2. Moral stories | 8. Amplification |
| 3. Narratives | 9. Commonplaces |
| 4. History | 10. Note-taking and commonplace books |
| 5. Structures for compositions | 11. Figures of rhetoric |
| 6. Rhetorical topics | (395) |

Items six through eleven represent more localized techniques that I will discuss in later chapters, in my discussions of specific orators. There I will note how rhetorical textbooks and training offered guidance for using such techniques in particular rhetorical situations. Here I will simply note that the rhetorical strategies themselves were encouraged for use especially in what has been called the "capstone" of grammar school, the declamation.

³⁵ Roman texts on rhetoric often make the distinction between *thesis* and *hypothesis*, the one for dialectic, the other for rhetoric—but they tend to mention *thesis* in order to set it aside. See more about *thesis* below.

³⁶ For Seusenbrotus as a comparable text, see Baldwin, *Shakespeare's Small Latine*, 2:139-175.

³⁷ Compare Dilwyn Knox, "Order, Reason and Oratory: Rhetoric in Protestant Latin Schools" (1994).

There is some debate as to how regularly students would reach this level of exercise, even though a great many statutes recommend this activity for the upper form.³⁸ The declamation was an important training exercise practiced in Roman times, and it was revived in the Renaissance attempt to achieve their ideals. The classical declamation, some examples of which circulated in the Renaissance, generally posed a pro-con case, either forensic or deliberative. Students were assigned one side and expected to compose a convincing argument by mustering all their rhetorical skills and literary knowledge. The subjects of declamation were traditionally impossible to argue with firmness, on account of their odd, sometimes comical circumstances—yet this must have spurred students to apply the ethical principles they had learned. In any case, the aim was to demonstrate one’s ability to persuade, not necessarily to win the argument hands-down. Mature humanist declamations also appear to have emphasized witty, learned display and were often delivered with ironic conviction, as students would have to do in arguing a cause with which they did not agree.

A few schools probably expected students to graduate by declamation on a regular basis, and it is not unlikely that exceptional students at other schools proceeded to declamation on their own merits. Yet, aside from offering a clear line distinguishing a schoolboy from an “orator,” the actual performance of such exercises may have been merely a more romantic version of an advanced *progymnasmata* “theme” or a “grown-up” letter, which students may well have been asked to recite orally.³⁹

³⁸ Brinsley says declamations are for the university (185).

³⁹ Brinsley treats declamation as an extension of theme (184).

Whether or not students rose to declaim in grammar school or directly accessed classical rhetorical handbooks there, they would be asked to do so as a matter of course at Oxford or Cambridge.⁴⁰ It would be inaccurate to characterize this experience as merely an advanced version of the upper forms of grammar school, even though students would be assigned many of the same classical texts.⁴¹ Classical rhetoric at the university was not taught as a pragmatic series of written exercises cultivating a sense of verbal craftsmanship (though students might be expected to hone their grammar-school crafting with a tutor), but rather as a philosophical treatment of civic speech, one conveyed through readings, lectures, and debates. In fact, the university discussion of classical rhetoric was governed less by the principles of rhetoric, than by those of dialectic, which was another key part of the curriculum, one central to the higher pursuit of knowledge. This academic approach to rhetoric encouraged comparison among the various rhetorical texts, but also with dialectic as an alternate art of argumentation.

After reading original texts and hearing lectures on a few of the classical rhetoricians (mostly during the first two years), it would not take long for a student to identify the similarities, especially among the Roman texts.⁴² All of the classical texts, for instance, made a point of recounting Aristotle's original tripartite division of

⁴⁰ See Mack, *Elizabethan Rhetoric*, 58-88. For a discussion of declamation and rhetorical instruction at Cambridge in the 17th-century, see William T. Costello, *The Scholastic Curriculum at Cambridge* (1958), 31-34, 41-43, 55-64. The practice Costello discusses probably applies to the 16th-century as well.

⁴¹ Costello provides a condensed list of readings recommended to students by a Cambridge tutor (42-43); these references to texts used in grammar school may reflect remediation, or rather a need for students to further master their earlier texts.

⁴² See Mack, *Elizabethan Rhetoric*, 51-55. Mack identifies specific classical rhetorical textbooks owned by students based upon inventory lists and student notes.

Table 2. Roman tripartite divisions of oratorical genre

<i>Ad Herennium</i> (1.2.2)	
The epideictic kind is devoted to the praise or censure of some particular person. The deliberative consists in the discussion of policy and embraces persuasion and dissuasion. The judicial is based on legal controversy, and comprises criminal prosecution or civil suit, and defence.	Demonstrativum est quod tribuitur in alicuius certae personae laudem vel vituperationem. Deliberativum est in consultatione, quod habet in se suasionem et dissuasionem. Iudiciale est quod positum est in controversia, et quod habet accusationem aut petitionem cum defensione.
<i>Cicero, De inventione</i> (1.5.7)	
The epideictic is devoted to the praise and censure of a particular individual; the deliberative is at home in a political debate and involves the expression of an opinion; the judicial is at home in a court of law and involves accusation and defence or claim and counter-plea.	Demonstrativum est quod tribuitur in alicuius certae personae laudem aut vituperationem; deliberativum, quod positum in disceptatione civili habet in se sententiae dictionem; iudicale, quod positum in iudicio habet in se accusationem et defensionem aut petitionem et recusationem.
<i>Cicero, Partitiones oratoriae</i> (4.11)	
In embellishment, he will aim at giving pleasure; in judgement, at arousing either severity or clemency in the judge; in persuasion, at inspiring hope or alarm of a deliberative body.	Delectionem in exornatione, in iudicio aut saevitiam aut clementiam iudicis, in suasionem autem aut spem aut reformationem deliberantis.
<i>Quintilian, Institutio oratoria</i> (3.4.12-15)	
There is, then, as I have said, one kind . . . which, however, derives its name from the better of its two functions and is called laudatory; others however call it demonstrative. . . . The second kind is deliberative, the third forensic oratory. All other species fall under these three genera: you will not find one in which we have not to praise or blame, to advise or dissuade, to drive home or refute a charge	Est igitur, ut dixi, unum genus, quo . . . est appellatum a parte meliore laudativum; idem alii demonstrativum vocant. . . . Alterum est deliberativum, tertium iudicale. Ceterae species in haec tria incident genera, nec invenietur ex his ulla, in qua non laudare ac vituperare, suadere ac dissuadere, intendere quid vel depellere debeamus.

rhetorical genre as launching point for a fuller exposition into rhetorical principles. Table 2 shows the theoretical division as presented in a few key Roman handbooks, the *Ad Herennium*, Cicero's *De Inventione* and *Partitiones Oratoriae*, and Quintilian's *Institutio Oratoria*. From these passages each of the Roman texts, following Aristotle, gives a brief comparison of the different aims of each genre. The Roman handbooks veer from Aristotle's *Rhetoric*, however, in how they present each genre. Aristotle analyzes the specialized topics of persuasion for each genre in detail first, as the entry point for inventing arguments, before going into more general strategies for style and arrangement. These special topics are primarily borrowed from ethical and political philosophies. Later

in the text he explains more localized rhetorical techniques, from the use of common topics (borrowed from dialectic) to various means of verbal amplification and ornament to effective ways of structuring orations. In these sections he makes passing observations about how such artistic techniques differ depending upon the genre speech and the corresponding rhetorical situation.

The Roman texts, by contrast, focus on the forensic (i.e., judicial) genre alone and in great depth before treating deliberative and demonstrative genres. Rather than beginning with special topics for forensic speech, the Roman texts open with the concept of rhetorical *status*, that is, the key issue of disagreement in the judicial case, whether it be a dispute of factual conjecture, legal definition, or juridical fault. Beyond this fundamental conceptual starting point, Roman instruction follows the process of composition through each part of a forensic oration: first the *exordium*, then the *narration*, *division*, *confirmation*, *refutation*, and *peroration*. This basic six-part structure (commonly called Ciceronian) could be varied slightly depending on the circumstances, and the Roman handbooks provide full enough instructions to accommodate most occasions. The *confirmation* was of course the critical section. Here the orator's arguments were presented, and so it is under sections covering confirmation that we see an explanation of persuasive topics, some special to forensic speech, some borrowed from dialectic.

Given their full treatment of the forensic genre, Roman handbooks tend to provide abridged explication of deliberative and demonstrative forms, for which they found many points of overlap with speaking in the forum. The key differences between the genres depend upon their special topics, which are basically derived from the aims of each genre

(see Table 2). However, there are also structural differences, since, for instance, judicial speech relies much more on narrative than deliberative. As we shall see in our later discussion of classical deliberative rhetoric, the Roman rhetoricians, like Aristotle, drew upon moral and political philosophy in outlining their special topics. The four cardinal virtues play an especially significant role in deliberative and demonstrative speech.

Although the classical handbooks tend to agree on most of the major principles (though Cicero in his *De Oratore* and Quintilian in his *Institutiones* nonetheless spend considerable time outlining differing points of view), this agreement should not lead us to believe that early modern university lecturers held an equally unified opinion of rhetoric, or one deferent to classical rhetoricians. Remember that the students were taught academic debate at the same time they were encountering these texts. A brief excerpt from the extant lectures of John Rainolds on Aristotle's *Rhetoric*, delivered a few years after the 1566 Parliament (between 1572-1578), will illustrate the critical awareness with which students were presented classical rhetorical handbooks. In regard to Aristotle's seminal and long-standing tripartite division of oratorical genre, Rainolds remarks,

Aristotle distinguished three kinds of causes, in which (quite as in other parts of this art) he did not consider the nature of the subject so much as he either explained custom, or took custom for his mistress. . . . Aristotle, a philosopher elucidating a subject, does not divide the causes as a philosopher should. He is not ignorant, I think, that he is dividing falsely, but he is considering custom rather than truth. (227-229; cf. 259-261)

This critical take was not exceptional. French academic Peter Ramus, for instance, made a career of his strident corrections of classical rhetoric and dialectic. These critiques were originally presented as arguments in university debate, although he ultimately translated

them into a successful textbook venture, one influential in England.⁴³ Interestingly, Ramus, like Rainolds, is especially annoyed by the tendency of classical rhetoricians to view their own historic paradigm of civic oratory as universally applicable. While Ramus's seemingly academic correction of classical rhetoric and dialectic has been critiqued for its overzealous excision of Roman and Greek "custom," we nonetheless see from our investigation into grammar school epistolary that pragmatic pedagogues like Erasmus found the classical tripartite division of genre insufficient for teaching early modern rhetorical purposes, though it may provide a useful starting point.

One factor driving this revisionist tendency may have been that the art of dialectic, not to mention the philosophical purism that came with it, reigned at the university. A quick look at Mack's summary list of skills learned there can help explain. He identifies eight that make up university training in composition:

1. A complete syllabus of classical rhetoric
2. Declamations and sermons
3. Logical invention and the topics
4. Argumentation and the syllogism
5. Organisation and method
6. Distinctions and definitions
7. Tactics for disputation
8. Dialectical reading (*Elizabethan Rhetoric* 395)

⁴³ Ramus explains his aim of clearing up the classical "confusion" in the opening letter of *Arguments against Quintilian* (1549): "I have a single argument, a single subject matter, that the arts of dialectic and rhetoric have been confused by Aristotle, Cicero, and Quintilian. I have previously argued against Aristotle and Cicero. What objection then is there against calling Quintilian to the same account?" (79). Ramus's pure-*trivium* arguments receive praise at both Oxford and Cambridge in the late seventeenth century: Ramus's comments on Aristotle are praised directly by Rainolds (203, 213, 307-08); Cambridge scholar Gabriel Harvey, in his *Ciceronianus*, lauds Ramus's take on Cicero. For modern commentary on Ramus's earlier arguments against Aristotle and Cicero, see Walter Ong, "Chapter II: Vectors in Ramus's Career" in *Ramus, Method, and the Decay of Dialogue*; Grafton and Jardine, *From Humanism to the Humanities* (1986); Sloane, *On the Contrary* (1996).

All but the first two skills relate to dialectic in particular, which then was more or less synonymous with “logic.”⁴⁴ While many of these items may seem vestiges of medieval scholasticism (e.g., focus on the syllogism and the practice of disputation), Renaissance humanists, in fact, made significant contributions to the contemporary theory and practice of dialectic. The critiques of Ramus have already been mentioned—but he himself was greatly influenced by Rudolph Agricola and his *De Inventione Dialectica* (1479).

Without delving into the details of dialectical composition (which will be discussed in the final chapter), we can say that these humanist reformers followed the same tendency with dialectic that they did with rhetoric, that is, to make it relevant to contemporary civic concerns. Agricola was at the forefront of this movement.⁴⁵ To be sure, the university declamations and disputations often treated the same esoteric themes commonly ridiculed as ludicrous scholastic questions. Even so, university students were encouraged to use their dialectical skills not simply for abstruse debate or shows of scholastic abilities, but more as an analytical habit of mind, a habit that worked alongside those rhetorical skills acquired in grammar school and refined in early university curriculum. Whereas rhetorical analysis taught students how to compose pieces able to

⁴⁴ Thomas Wilson, *The Rule of Reason Conteyning the Arte of Logique* (1553, 1972), ed. Richard S. Sprague. Wilson sees them as one: “Logique, otherwise called Dialect [sic] (for thei are bothe one) is an Art . . .” (10). But other early modern logicians and dialecticians make finer distinctions, often associating dialectic more with oral disputation, nonetheless using logical principles. See, for instance, John Milton, *A Fuller Course in the Art of Logic* (1672, 1982), 217-218. For a secondary treatment of the distinction, or lack thereof, see Wilbur Samuel Howell, *Logic and Rhetoric in England, 1500-1700*, 16 (on Aristotle’s distinction) and 154-55 (on Ramus’s elision).

⁴⁵ My general discussion of Agricola draws on Peter Mack, *Renaissance Argument* (1993). Agricola’s text has not fully been translated into English and Latin editions are not easy to access. There is, however, a partial English translation: Rudolph Agricola, *De Inventione Dialectica Libri Tres*, by J. R. McNally in “Rudolph Agricola’s *De Inventione Dialectica Libri Tres*: A Translation of Selected Chapters” (1967).

persuade a particular audience in a particular social situation, dialectical analysis taught students how to distinguish true from false statements generally, how to recognize abstract connections and distinctions between particulars, and how to methodically present those concepts and arguments for instructive purposes. Indeed, one of Agricola's great services to dialectic was to emphasize that its key purpose was to teach, an aim classical Roman rhetoricians placed alongside persuading and delighting as one of the three duties of an orator (*officia oratoris*).⁴⁶ By linking the aim of teaching to dialectic, rather than rhetoric, Agricola ironically helped bridge the gap between the two arts, even as he more distinctly foregrounded their differences and illustrated how an academic approach could have practical ramifications.

One influential way in which Agricola and his fellow humanists helped bridge the gap between dialectic and rhetoric was to apply the methods of “dialectical reading” to both philosophical and oratorical works, not to mention poetry, history, and other literary forms.⁴⁷ Indeed, Agricola uses many of Cicero's orations to illustrate dialectical analysis, on occasion distinguishing particular features that might be read differently by the art of rhetoric. For instance, where Agricola introduces the three basic questions that philosophers consider—whether something is (*an sit*), what something is (*quid sit*), and what qualities it exhibits (*quale sit*)—he makes a comparison with the parallel questions of *status* in forensic cases, particularly by bringing up Cicero's speech *Pro Milone*. Whereas a forensic orator might focus on the judicial controversy surrounding one disputed fact, whether Milo killed Claudio, a philosopher would consider whether Milo

⁴⁶ See Mack, *Renaissance Argument*, 124-125. On *officia oratoris*, see Kennedy.

⁴⁷ See Mack, “The Use of Dialectic,” in *Renaissance Argument*, 226-243.

exists, whether Claudio was alive, whether the person on trial is Milo, what is self-defense, and a multitude of other contextual details that might otherwise be taken for granted?⁴⁸ In other words, dialecticians would not simply focus on a particular point of *status*, but inquire about a web of relevant details by using the topics of logical invention. Later in his treatise, while looking at two other speeches of Cicero, *Pro Cluentio* and *In Verrem*, Agricola analyzes the rhetorical circumstances more fully and identifies other debatable matters underlying the particular point of *status* upon which each dispute will ultimately be determined.⁴⁹ By juxtaposing the two different analytical points of view, Agricola's dialectical treatment of these speeches, helps isolate the rhetorical matters, places where persuasive appeals might have real effect, with greater specificity. One can imagine that such a detailed process of analysis—one that takes a philosophical approach to breaking down the context of a particular utterance— would encourage students to see oratorical crafting more clearly as deliberate choices made from a myriad of possibilities, rather than as a repertoire of strategies applied willy-nilly or serendipitously.

Besides applying these analytical principles to their readings, students were supposed to bring them into their own composition. We have already considered how instructors like Rainolds and Ramus raise critical distinctions in their lectures, especially with the aim of getting at the underlying philosophical principles rhetoric. We could also point to a variety of written treatises composed by university graduates, each making the same careful distinctions regarding a multitude of other subjects, earnestly pursuing the

⁴⁸ See Mack, *Renaissance Argument*, 183. I am paragraphing Mack's analysis here and adding some of my own dialectical questions to highlight the difference between rhetorical *status* and dialectical questions.

⁴⁹ See Mack, *Renaissance Argument*, 186.

questions *quid sit* and *quale sit*? Students at the university might not be asked to speak at such length (unless seeking a higher degree), but they would be expected to use their dialectical skills to posit a cogent argument for a thesis in required disputations and, alternately, to take apart another student's arguments using the same conceptual repertoire. Students, moreover, were not always in control of which point of view they would be asked to present, or even whether the subject would be of personal interest. The key to these disputation exercises was to habituate students to speaking with critical care for how words were defined and distinguished and how words were joined together to make fuller and more compelling logical statements about a particular subject.

The relevance of these analytical concepts and exercises to real civic issues can best be shown by listing a few of the classical texts from which students might have been asked to draw their arguments. At university, during their first years of study, students would read political and ethical texts, such as Aristotle's *Politics* and his *Ethics* and Renaissance commentaries on such texts. These texts would ultimately provide topics for debate, for example, about the best form of government or about the nature of happiness or friendship (Costello 64-69). As we shall see, these are the very issues at the heart of classical deliberative rhetoric. Indeed, the first two years of university not only forced students to think about ethical and political matters (two categories that combined might be equated with our modern connotations of the word "civil society") in theoretical terms, but also demanded that they argue positions on these subjects. Significantly, since the form of debate required both *pro* and *con* stances, one person always had to argue against what seemed the *status quo*.

Professional and Institutional Voices

Beyond the rudimentary rhetoric acquired in grammar school and alongside or after early university coursework, young men in England might follow one of the following professional routes: towards the clergy, towards Civil Law, or towards Common Law, and in some cases more than one. Each of these professions required special training beyond that gained through formal education up through the Bachelor's degree. These forms of higher education are worth brief discussion, given their pursuit by many members of Parliament: Bishops in the Lords would have acquired further university training; Civil Lawyers in both the Lords and Commons would have acquired a graduate degree and received training in the Doctors Commons; and Common Law lawyers, of which the House of Commons was quite full, would have been finished for legal service in the Inns of Court.⁵⁰

First is the clergy. I will not spend much time on this category because sermonic discourse in the period is fairly well documented and my later analysis of speeches does not include orations from trained clergymen. Beyond receiving a full theological education at university and debating such topics there, preachers were obviously expected to minister to their flocks. They received rhetorical training for this duty of their office. And while there was a rich set of medieval textbooks for *ars praedicandi*, Christian humanists provided their own renditions of preaching manuals, often highlighting connections to classical rhetorical literature that students would have acquired earlier. But the Reformation also prompted the rewriting of ministerial guidelines to highlight

⁵⁰ My discussion of lawyers draws mainly on specialized historical sources, but see also Richard J. Schoeck, "Lawyers and Rhetoric in Sixteenth-Century England" (1983). Schoeck mentions many of legal and historical figures cited in this dissertation.

Lutheran and Calvinist principles over Roman Catholic ones. While the differences are too detailed outline here, suffice it to say that they would ultimately change how clergy addressed their parishioners and on what matters. Though such ministerial rhetoric was honed in the higher levels of university education, we can be assured that it trickled down to less educated preachers and even provided an example for lay citizens on how to integrate sacred texts and theological principles into everyday persuasive discourse.

Civil Law practitioners, or “Civilians,” would also go on to receive graduate university education, on Roman Civil Law in particular. The key text of study was Justinian’s *Corpis Juris Civilis*, a legal code fairly irrelevant to English judicial practice, but one still used for military, ecclesiastical, and international jurisprudence.⁵¹ At the end of this chapter we shall see how this legal tradition diverges from the Common Law and how that divergence concerns Parliament. For now, however, I will point out some important details concerning the training and oratorical practice of Civil Lawyers, beyond what would have been the typical, but more advanced, university disputation (in which Civilians would be well versed, having achieved doctoral status). After leaving Oxford or Cambridge to pursue their own practices, Civilians could frequently join the Doctors’ Commons, a London social and professional establishment helping members to adapt their somewhat irrelevant legal training to English life. New members would go through a “silent year” in ecclesiastical court to learn procedure, a requirement as well for being

⁵¹ My discussion of the Civilians draws upon Brian Levack, *The Civil Lawyers of England 1603-1641* (1973). While Levack focuses on the practice of Civil Law in the early seventeenth century, his first chapter on “A Profession of Civil Servants” (7-49) treats the development of this profession back into the sixteenth century. My discussion of Civilians here comes from 16-30. For an interesting discussion of how humanist thought played out in attitudes towards Common Law and Civil Law, see 131-140.

allowed to practice law in any of the courts for which Civil Law still mattered. But there were fairly few available positions in these courts. Consequently, some pursued other professional work drawing upon their legal knowledge, particularly work in service of the Church and Crown, whose functionaries might need legal advice before proceeding in official business, or need pleaders to further their own causes. The relevance of Roman Civil Law to courts of chivalry and international affairs made Civilians especially useful at Court, where titles and treaties were often disputed. Thus in many Parliamentary sessions, we see the special legal domain of Civilians invoked where the Crown's religious authority overlapped with Common Law, as with usury, or where matters of monarchical authority came into question, as with the execution of Mary Queen of Scots.⁵²

By far, the profession of Common Law influenced Parliamentary proceedings most—far from a radical claim, given that Parliament was the only means of creating or repealing Common Law statutes. Common Law lawyers took up residence at one of the four Inns of Court, what have collectively been called the “third university of England.”⁵³ While many of the attendees would have also matriculated at one of the universities, perhaps not completing a degree, some went directly from grammar school or home tutoring to begin their legal education. The Inns included three levels of residents: benchers, barristers, and inner-barristers, the last of which were students. The degrees reflect levels of training. Benchers would give “readings” or lectures on particular laws

⁵² For a discussion of Civil Law in the 1571 debate on usury, see Costello, *The Scholastic Curriculum*, 136. Levack offers cases where Civilian's expertise or advocacy in Crown matters appear during the 17th-century; see 47-49, 85, 98, 101-109, 117-121.

⁵³ See Charlton, “Inns of Court,” in *Education in Renaissance England*, 169-198. Charlton has a useful chapter, but most of my discussion of the Inns draws upon Wilfrid R. Prest, *The Inns of Court under Elizabeth I and the Early Stuarts 1590-1640* (1972).

and pose cases for barristers to debate in moot exercises (Prest 116-123). Mooting was the key means to demonstrate full competency as a Common Law barrister. Being “called to the bar” for a moot legal debate conferred a “right of audience” in the higher Common Law courts (48-50). The students attended as audience for these exercises and studied various writs, statutes, and cases. Besides the professional training, however, the Inns were run as small hierarchical communities whose governance was administered by “parliament” among benchers and their assistances, and whose members at each level conferred and delivered orations both for business and entertainment.⁵⁴ Such practical speaking might prepare members for public speaking in the course of executing civic business outside the Inns.

To close this section I will quickly note that, of the members elected to the 1563 Parliament (which reflects the 1566 session as well, which was an extension of the same), approximately one-third attended university (67 members), the Inns (108 members), or both (36 members).⁵⁵ We can be fairly sure that a great majority of the rest saw most of their forms in grammar school, either because they were fortunate enough to be of the gentry or have access to a free school, or accomplished and intelligent enough to have won financial patronage in pursuing formal education.⁵⁶ One of Elizabeth’s first royal injunctions, in fact, encouraged would-be patrons to support local “scholars,” so that

⁵⁴ For a basic discussion of overall government of each Inn, see Prest, 72-4. For mention of occasional speeches, see 92, 103, 106, 109, 112.

⁵⁵ Charlton, *Education in Renaissance England*, 137. Charlton draws upon Neale.

⁵⁶ For a general discussion of House of Commons demographics see *PuT*, 37-42. Loach emphasizes the role of the gentry in the Commons—they most likely would have received grammar education. During our period, in fact, David Cressy has documented a surge in literacy (reaching over fifty-percent) even among yeoman and craftsmen. See “Levels of Illiteracy in England, 1530-1730” (1977).

“after they have profited in good learning, [they] may be partners of their patrons cure and charge, as well in preaching, as otherwise in executing their offices, or may, when time shall be, otherwise profit the commonweal with their counsel and wisdom” (*Educational Charters* 453). To the latter, “counsel and wisdom,” we shall now turn.

II. The Classical Tradition of Deliberative Oratory and Early Modern Genres of Counsel

In the previous section, I tried to show, in as brief a form as possible, how rich the conceptual tapestry of formal education could be, not just in the artistry of classical masterpieces (a well documented subject), but also in the formulation of discursive voice. Even with the overwhelming emphasis on Christian-stoicism, a student could not have helped but witness a variety of social perspectives, some praiseworthy (Cicero and Demosthenes), some reprehensible (Catiline and Heliogabulus), some amusing (Aesop’s belly and limbs). It is important to realize that these voices were not confined to the classroom, or even limited to public entertainments reworking them for the popular appeal, but rather they were frequently invoked as part of categorical expressions of civic voice, that is, in venues presuming individual input on civic matters. (I hope this was illustrated in part by the mention of various school-texts among the relatively spare journals of contemporary Parliamentary debate.) In the next three chapters, we shall see how specific speeches draw upon these various modes of expression with greater intricacy and depth—not to mention rhetorical purpose. There we shall see what humanist-trained orators made of their inner encyclopedias and artistic training.

Before going to those speeches, however, we should explore in greater depth the parameters of and instructions for civic oratory most directly related to Parliament. First,

in this section, I will outline some key features of classical deliberative oratory and its early modern analogues. In the next section we shall look at how Parliament was conceived by some contemporaries as not only the primary venue for common citizens to add input on civic matters, but also as analogue to the classical democratic institutions read about in school-texts and in a growing number of English translations of rhetorical handbooks, histories, and literature.

Classical Deliberative Oratory: Special Persuasive Topics for Debating Public Issues

As I noted above, Aristotle's tripartite division of genre drives not only a significant part of his own rhetorical theory, but also that of Roman authors.⁵⁷ I noted also that, while the classical rhetoricians tended to associate the three types of orations with actual civic venues, Aristotle posits as well an abstract distinction of *time*: deliberative speeches in particular persuade an audience towards a *future* course of action (or inaction, as the case may be). In a moment, we shall see how this abstraction influenced Renaissance reformulations of classical deliberative rhetoric. For the moment, however, we should note the narrow focus on *political* and *ethical* decision-making in classical handbooks.

While the range of future-oriented actions would seem to be nearly infinite, Aristotle chooses to list a relatively limited set of subjects for deliberative debate, focusing especially on state politics: "The important subjects on which people deliberate

⁵⁷ Roman rhetorics were more commonly used. I start with Aristotle nonetheless because of his influential theories. In any case, the *Rhetoric* did benefit from printing, just as the Roman texts did: see Paul D. Brandes, "Printings of Aristotle's Rhetoric During the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries" (1985). Brandes notes Latin translations as well.

and on which deliberative orators give advice in public are mostly five in number, and these are finances, war and peace, national defense, imports and exports, and the framing of laws” (*Rhet.* 4.4.7). This surprisingly narrow and pragmatic focus for deliberative rhetoric is mildly critiqued by John Rainolds in his lectures, where he remarks on Aristotle’s greater attention “to bodies (*corporibus*)” than “to minds (*animis*)” (269), calling to attention the worldliness of Aristotle’s deliberative issues. Yet, while Rainolds is rarely so generous to Aristotle, the Oxford professor does allow for a motive of practicality by recognizing that “while the principles in our deliberations are referred to the happy life, for the well-being of our minds and bodies, it is done in such way that for the most part more counsels are taken about the health of the body than the virtues of the mind.” Later in the text, where Rainolds discusses Aristotle’s special topics of persuasion, he does in fact chastise Aristotle (among others) for not foregrounding virtue in deliberative causes.⁵⁸ On Aristotle’s list of causes, however, Rainolds primarily emphasizes the wide variety of *other* subjects that may be considered debatable: “without a doubt, other subjects ought to be deliberated. These [five] are not always deliberated, and sometimes other things are; perhaps not less important things, and most certainly more excellent things” (271). As evidence for this, Rainolds directs students to “histories,” but not without first honoring legislation as a particularly noble subject for deliberative orators to consider—one would hope future MPs were taking notes.

Aristotle, however, does not greatly expand upon this opening account of political issues and instead refers students to his *Politics*. No discussion is offered about how political entities make decisions, though his last chapter on deliberative oratory does

⁵⁸ See also Mack, *Elizabethan Rhetoric*, 52-3.

point out that the constitutional makeup of a particular society (i.e., whether democratic, oligarchic, or monarchical) determines the ends for deliberated actions (*Rhet.* 1.9). From a more pragmatic perspective, he also notes that the proposed action should also be *possible*, that is, feasible (1.5.2-3).

The focus of Aristotle's treatment of deliberative rhetoric turns rather towards the desired ends of such speeches and how those ends are impressed upon listeners through a specific set of persuasive topics, moral notions that appear in Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics*. Deliberative speakers should always, according to Aristotle, urge towards "advantage" and away from "harm" (1.3.5). For Aristotle, these ends are more *descriptive* of how people think, than *prescriptive* of what an orator should say and people should do. Aristotle emphasizes that all seek happiness (1.5.1), which he quickly defines:

Let happiness be defined as success (*eupraxia*) combined with virtue or as self-sufficiency (*autarkeia*) in life or as the pleasantest life accompanied with security or as abundance of possessions and live bodies [i.e. slaves], with the ability to defend and use these things; for all people agree that happiness is pretty much one or more of these things. (1.5.3)

He goes on to outline the "goods" that contribute to this varied definition of happiness, ranging from a list of *virtues*, both of body and mind (which he more fully develops under epideictic), to things contributing to *pleasure*, to those contributing to *security* and *safety*. Such goods constitute the *special topics* a deliberative orator should mention in order to persuade an audience towards a specific course of action.

The final half of Rainolds' lectures on Aristotle's *Rhetoric* carefully analyze Aristotle's list of goods, regularly exposing Aristotle's moral shortcomings in giving worldly concerns (e.g., pleasure, possessions, and security) too much a place of importance in deliberations of action. Rainolds characterizes Aristotle's list of topics (not

unjustly) as often appealing to the lowest common denominator of humanity for the purposes of rhetorical success, noting at one point, “The crowd refers all matters to the care of the body—to serve its belly—but few to the care of the mind” (269-271). Such a critique reflects the stereotypical corrupting influence of rhetoric, with which the orator might deign to pitch to a crowd’s more animal instincts, even in moving a cause worthy of pursuit. Conversely, an orator could cite virtues while actually pursuing less noble ends, ends more “advantageous” to the speaker than the public. Among the classical treatises on rhetoric, Aristotle’s is comparatively amoral. As Rainolds’ extended commentary bears out, this moral ambiguity provided a fruitful field for erudite, if sniping, critiques of pagan ethics. Aristotle’s amoral rhetorical guidance was nonetheless consumed by advanced early modern readers, who could either use it variously to compose persuasive compositions or to critique those of others.

Far more readily available and used in the Renaissance were the Roman textbooks, which inserted a clearer sense of moral purpose for the orator, albeit without leaving off politics. For the Roman rhetoricians, especially Cicero, the *ethos* of the orator was of paramount importance and this ethos was generally reflected in how the orator persuaded the audience, whether based upon *honor*, *power*, or *pleasure*. In fact, we see very little suggesting the seductiveness of pleasure among the Roman texts, perhaps because that appeal was associated with the “belly” of the body politic, not its head.⁵⁹

Instead, the Romans present the topic of *utilitas*—their version of the *advantageous*—in somewhat grander terms, especially in terms of *virtue* and *power*. In the *Ad Herrenium*, for instance, *utilitas* is divided into two parts, *security* and *honor*, with

⁵⁹ Cicero’s *Partitiones Oratoriae* does allow *pleasure* a legitimate place.

no regard paid to *pleasure* at all (in Diagram 1). Under the branch of honor, by contrast, readers are presented a rather full treatment of the four cardinal virtues. One might note as well that the worldlier branch under honor, the *praiseworthy* topics, is comprised of references to social entities, which would seem to represent the people whose praise one seeks. Even in the *Ad Herennium*, which follows Aristotle in making advantage (*utilitas*) the central aim, the topics that drive deliberative decisions concern safety, political power, and honor, all topics that an orator in the Roman republic would be praised for pursuing—as long as their were no points of dishonor. Note as well that the two branches under *utilitas* may be characterized respectively as *political* and *ethical* in focus, among which, the author does not seem to favor one over the other.

Cicero, however, takes a clearer moral stance on the comparative pursuit of ethical versus political goods, especially in his early *De Inventione*, still a fairly popular textbook in the Renaissance, no matter the full recovery of Cicero's more mature *De Oratore*. In *De Inventione*, he excises things honorable (*honestum*) from those advantageous (*utilitas*), and emphasizes the former over the latter, which he views as strictly related to power and security for their own sake (see Diagram 2). There are some things that involve both honor and advantage, and these are clearly higher than political pursuits alone—yet not necessarily above pure honor. In later texts he will acknowledge a need to respect safety for the purposes of survival, but he nonetheless retains the idea that under ideal conditions, the orator would always persuade towards the honorable course.

Diagram 1: The *Ad Herrenium*'s division of deliberative topics (adapted from Rackham)

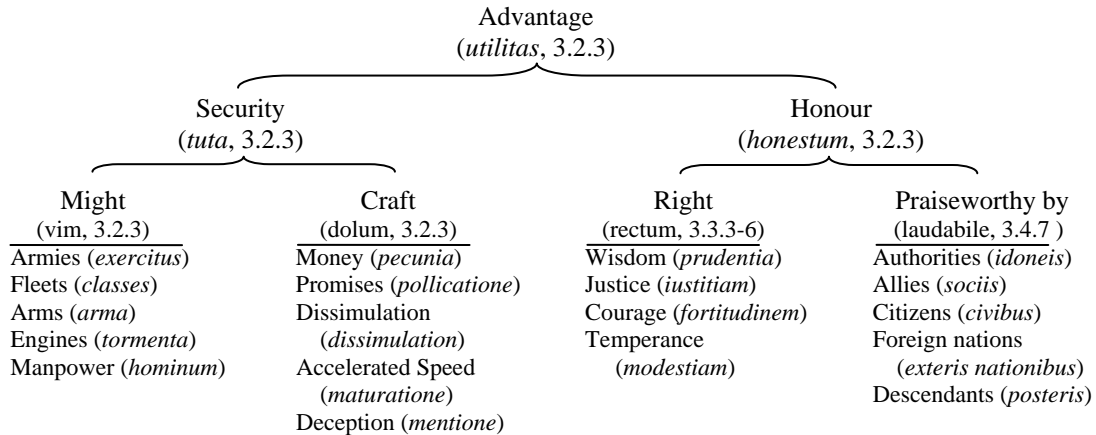
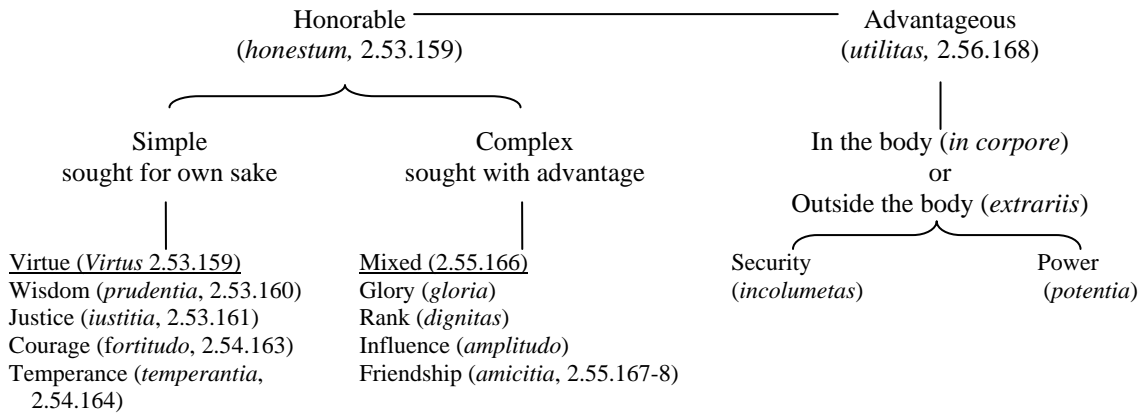


Diagram 2: Cicero's division of deliberative topics in *De inventione*



Cicero's youthful emphasis on honor is praised later by Quintilian, who suggests also the application of deliberative rhetoric to "private matters" (3.8.4), rather than just civic issues, thereby allowing moral persuasion to trump political. Some read this move as a sign that under the Roman Empire, as opposed to the Republic, citizens were not allowed as much input on civic matters. Such an observation would have to overlook the fact that Quintilian provides the fullest discussion of deliberative rhetoric among all the Roman rhetoricians, going so far as to teach the traditionally judicial strategy of *status* for debating about state issues, like public works (e.g. building an causeway through a

swamp—3.8.16-17). Indeed, Quintilian advances Roman deliberative rhetorical theory not just by considering personal counsel a legitimate realm for practice, but also by clarifying how the conceptual framework of *status*, that is, identifying the key point of dispute, could apply to civic matters and not simply forensic cases (3.8.3-4). While in many respects this treatment of *status* is simply a more sophisticated rehash of Aristotle's concern over the *feasibility* of a proposed action (i.e., the conjectural status), Quintilian's highly structured approach might be seen as looking ahead to an era when deliberative discourse would be construed as public problem-solving.

In a moment, we shall see how the above mentioned special topics and adaptation of deliberative rhetoric for personal counsel come to be developed in the Renaissance. First, however, we should recognize that the classical rhetoricians provided other advice telling orators how win deliberative causes, besides speaking to the aforementioned special persuasive topics. Aristotle, for instance, notes that deliberative speeches draw especially on past paradigms for comparison and require a spare structure and style (*Rhet* 1.9.40, 3.12-17). While the Romans also proposed the use of examples and plainer style in deliberative speaking, they still tended to treat deliberative speeches as pared-down versions of forensic orations (*Ad Her.* 3.4.7-3.5.9; *Part Or.* 27.97; *Inst Or.* 3.8.66-67). They often refer back to forensic tactics in discussing deliberative rhetoric, or they reference deliberative speech in explaining the various uses of fundamental rhetorical strategies for forensic purposes. One example of where Quintilian addresses a typically deliberative situation under his instructions for forensic oratory appears as he explains the effectiveness of drawing upon fables, which are considered fictitious examples, or made-up paradigms. There he highlights the occasion described by Livy where Menenius

Agrippa used Aesop's "Fable of the Belly" to dissuade the plebs from uprising: "Thus Menenius Agrippa is said to have reconciled the plebs to the patricians by his fable of the limbs' quarrel with the belly" (5.11.20).

Renaissance Rhetoric of Counsel: Moral Advisement on Matters Public and Private

The best evidence for illustrating that the Renaissance rhetoricians did not ignore deliberative rhetoric in favor of epideictic is Erasmus's *De Conscribendis Epistolis*, which I noted above was used itself in English education and served as primary source for other letter-writing manuals. Here we should note further that Erasmus's use of the three classical oratorical genres foregrounds the deliberative genre much more than the other two, allowing future-oriented rhetoric to both come first in the text and also to occupy over half the overall instruction. Epideictic letters are given one short section; judicial rhetoric receives extended treatment, but nothing like deliberative, which Erasmus treats as the master genre, teaching under it the general strategies from composing exordia to using common topics of persuasion (i.e., not just *special* topics).

Just as the Romans advanced forensic, by developing the concept of *status* and going beyond the Aristotelian special topics, so does Erasmus add key theoretical distinctions, especially by cataloguing sub-genres. The most significant distinction concerns the "future" oriented nature of deliberative, which Erasmus refines into pre-decision rhetoric, or "persuasive" letters, and post-decision, pre-action rhetoric, or "exhortative" rhetoric. The classical rhetoricians primarily treat deliberative as speech for making decisions, as we saw above. Erasmus's distinction not only identifies a key conceptual distinction between two related future-oriented genres, but allows for the use

of deliberative rhetoric in social situations where decisions are made unilaterally by someone else beforehand, but where action nonetheless must be carried out by diverse individuals. In some ways, it is surprising that the Romans and Greeks did not emphasize this distinction, given that, aside from having a democratic political basis, they also had rigid military structures, and their histories recount many important battlefield exhortations.⁶⁰ In case, Elizabethan England witnessed exhortative speeches, not to mention letters, on a regularly basis, especially in the form of “charge” orations, which reminded the audience of a duty to be carried out. These appeared in Common Law courts to direct juries, but also at the opening of Parliament, as I will discuss in the next chapter. Other additions from Erasmus under the deliberative branch (quoted above) provide equally pragmatic distinctions, especially to accommodate a social economy built on hierarchy, one wherein “petition” and “recommendation” letters, for instance, have unique importance.

But this fuller exposition of deliberative genre may obscure one other key divergence from the classical textbooks, that is, the omission of special political topics and the addition of more personalized topics. For exhortatory compositions, Erasmus turns especially to the emotions, presumably chosen to spur the actor to implement fully the previously determined decision: “[When writing an exhortatory letter] from the

⁶⁰ Erasmus says about the genre of exhortation, “But all this [instruction on how to arouse emotions] must be imbibed from the teachings of the rhetoricians” (79; sect. 36). Perhaps he is referring to Aristotle’s catalogue of psychological states in the second book, a section Lawrence D. Green has noted of primary interest during the Renaissance: see “Aristotle’s *Rhetoric*” (1994), 5, 11, 13-14. While the Roman rhetoricians do discuss various means of moving emotions, they do not single out the act of exhortation as a separate genre particularly for encouragement towards action. The closest to such a point rhetorical doctrine may be in the classical teachings for peroration.

following sources in particular I shall seek the means of stimulating the mind: praise, hope, fear, hatred, love, pity, rivalry, expectation, example, and entreaty” (79; sect. 36). The subsequent explanation of praise refers readers ahead to his discussion of “honour” under the “persuasive” genre, but it also describes how to make “praise,” a typically epideictic act, a source of motivation. Erasmus is not simplistic in this regard and rather notes the “risk” of praising the recipient, since the effect “depends on personal character” and what exactly is being encouraged (80; sect. 36). The emotions listed above are also presented with critical guidance for effective usage. For instance, *hope* and *fear* are especially useful “to rouse and sustain men’s spirits so that they are not overwhelmed by the magnitude of human events” (80-1; sect. 36). Likewise, “We shall provide strong incitement and enhance our argument if we call to mind the dearness of those for whose sake perils are undergone, mentioning loyalty owed to country, parents, and children, . . . love towards benefactors, the ties of friendship, [etc.].” *Example* is singled out as a particularly useful topic for motivating action, which to a certain extent agrees with classical doctrine on *paradigm*, which, however, is usually referenced for justification more than motivation. In regards to this topic, Erasmus notes that fictitious examples may be suitable, and he cites Quintilian’s observation about Menenius Agrippa using Aesop’s fable “about the limbs conspiring against the belly” to reconcile “the furiously enraged plebeians to the patricians” (88; sect. 37).

While we might expect exhortatory letters to omit political topics (pragmatism is not a great motivator), Erasmus also leaves them out of “persuasive” letters, again signaling the redirection of deliberative rhetoric towards personal counsel. Politics may be an important subject of discussion among correspondents, but such issues might rather

be subsumed under more general ethical topics, just as the Romans placed them under the abstract concept of *utilitas*. In fact, Erasmus's special topics for *persuasive* letters reflect the Ciceronian prioritization minus the Roman obsession with military might:

“Arguments [in the persuasive genre] are derived especially from these sources:

goodness, profit, security, pleasantness, facility, and necessity” (108; sect. 45). While the mention of “pleasantness” may lead us to believe Erasmus has backslid into Aristotelian ethics, the account of “goodness” includes both an extended Ciceronian exposition of the four cardinal virtues and a fairly austere discussion of matters “praiseworthy.” Moreover, Erasmus's treatment of “profit” (*utilitas*) is strikingly moralized by classical standards:

Profit lies in retaining present and gaining future advantages, and in avoiding their opposites. Of advantages, which are also called blessings, some belong to the body, such as beauty, strength, ability, and the like; some to the mind, such as aptness to learn, quickness of intellect, a faithful memory, goodness of nature and disposition; to these we may add these which we acquire by our own effort: learning, greatness of soul, temperance and the other virtues. Some are the result of good fortune, such as public offices, magistracies, wealth, friends, and the like. (109-10; sect. 45)

Notice how Erasmus brings profit back to the acquisition of virtue, and virtually ignores political power as a point of deliberation, ascribing the attainment of “public offices, magistracies, and wealth” rather to “good fortune.” This moralizing stance must have seemed quite apt for school rhetoric and honest conversation among humanist academics. We should not assume, however, that the students and academics did not take such an academic moral perspective with them into mature business and public life.

In fact, one thing a reader may gather from Erasmus's epistolary manual, which includes numerous references to letters of Pliny and Cicero, is that the subjects discussed in private correspondence generally dove-tailed with civic matters typically falling under

the three classical oratorical genres. Personal decisions reflect on civic status. The connection between these two theoretically separate social spheres appears especially in regards to familial status and professional calling. Erasmus illustrates this overlap well enough with his two chief examples for the *persuasive* and *dissuasive* genres, the first a rather lengthy letter composed by himself to a friend advising him to marry, the second showing how to advise someone not to marry.⁶¹ In Tudor England, where status was often defined by lineage and certain professions sometimes precluded by marriage, advice on marriage might be categorically civic.

Later Latin epistolary manuals, which were clearly intended to be school-texts, diverge from Erasmus in emphasis, but still retain his key special topics and subdivision of deliberative letters. Both Hegendorff and Macropedius give each of the three oratorical genres more or less equal coverage, not favoring any one over the other two. They also reorganize the presentation of each genre, teaching the demonstrative first, rather than deliberative, which no longer contains such an extensive discussion of general rhetorical principles. This strategy is quite effective pedagogically, since the initial discussion of praise and blame typically offered an epitome of the ethical topics they encountered in earlier Latin literature and previewed things “praiseworthy” in general.⁶² For our purposes, however, I will simply note that their subdivisions in these texts are similar to those of Erasmus, and for the central persuasive genre, they provide essentially the same topics. Hegendorff’s list of places goes, “Honestum, vtile, possibile, necesse, facile,

⁶¹ See Sloane, *On the Contrary*, 80, *passim*. Sloane has an interesting take on how Erasmus’s letter displays humanist “disputatiousness.”

⁶² Cicero’s *Partitiones Oratoriae* is the only one of the classical handbooks that uses this order, that of teaching the demonstrative genre first. Note that Macropedius repeatedly refers to the relevance of demonstrative topics to deliberative compositions.

incundum [?], pium, iustum, aequum, gloriosum” (75^r). He then emphasizes, “honesti ratio in virtutibus sita est,” and refers readers to the first book of Cicero’s *De Officiis*, the book outlining the four cardinal virtues. This same list is recounted in Hegendorff’s brief guidance for dissuasive letters, albeit with inverse forms: “Inhonestum, inutile, difficile, non necessarium, impium, periculosum, impossible” (78^r); and again in positive forms, where petitioning letters are taught as a subgenre of deliberative rhetoric: “Petimus honesta, utilia, facilia & factu & praestitu, possibilia, necessaria” (79^v). These lists, which always begin with the *honorable* and the *advantageous* (but also include the *necessary*, *easy*, and *possible*), should be viewed as a heuristic tool, not only for trying to decide how to persuade a deliberative audience, but also for deciding matters generally.

While the epistolary manuals are relatively uniform in their advice, Lorich’s Aphthonius is somewhat more haphazard in its guidance for deliberative forms. Recall that Lorich takes Aphthonius’s exercises and places them under the three classical oratorical genres. Those that fall under deliberative rhetoric include *fable*, *narrative*, *maxim*, *chreia*, and *thesis*. Unfortunately, since the rationale for such categorization is neither a part of the original Aphthonius, nor explained well by Lorich, the reader must connect the dots back to the classical teachings. No doubt the inclusion of fable and narrative reflects the usefulness of hypothetical or historical paradigms in directing future action. The reference to maxim and chreia, which are both writings on borrowed sayings, probably reflect the respect of wisdom for guidance in future action. Even so, the proposed topics for analyzing these passages seem rather to be modes of epideictic,

putting praise of the author first, followed by simple demonstration of comprehension.⁶³

In fact, Aphthonius's guidance for the judicial forms (which Lorch follows) invokes comparatively more of the traditional topics of deliberative rhetoric, for example, encouraging students to confute a previous argument by identifying points as *impossibili* or *inutile* (65^r). Observations of the *utile* and *possibile* appear also under the exercise of *locus communis*, as does an invocation of the *honestum* (93^r).

The earlier *progymnasmata* forms may be hard to reconcile with the traditional aims of deliberative rhetoric, but the final two forms have an interesting correspondence to the two points of focus already mentioned, that is, ethical and political decision making. First, I will consider Aphthonius's capstone exercise, *legislatio*, the argument for or against a law. Not only does this exercise reflect the last of Aristotle's five political subjects (the one Rainolds singles out for praise), but it also reflects the fact that students would probably be participating in declamations, in which students would have to take pro or con positions on given laws. Aphthonius even recycles his earlier forms of *confirmatio* and *confutatio*, suggesting that debate on a law should *always* take two sides. While this exercise seems to speak directly to Parliamentary debate, it is also interesting to consider what the result of cultivating confutations of laws in the broader literate populace might produce. In any case, Aphthonius proposes a list of persuasive topics slightly divergent from others in the deliberative tradition: "Legitimo, iusto, vtili, possibili" (221^v). The second topic, *iusto*, aptly singles out the particular cardinal virtue

⁶³ See Lechner, *Renaissance Concepts of the Commonplaces*. Lechner emphasizes that *progymnasmata*'s frequent use of epideictic modes in early forms helps indoctrinate students in how to write about moral qualities, which of course would be useful for making deliberative arguments later. As I suggest above, the rudimentary skills may explain why Macropedius and Hegendorff teach demonstrative letters first.

most relevant to legislation, wherein equity is important. But the first topic, *legitimo*, seems a bit tautological and is not really explained. Ironically, though Aphthonius appears to have touched on the exact genre of debate practiced in Parliamentary discourse, his guidance is fairly undeveloped, and so the genre seems only a different kind of compositional *theme* to exercise methods already taught by rudimentary forms.

Aphthonius's "thesis," by contrast, offers a comparatively sophisticated set of instructions. They actually reflect some of the connections between rhetoric and dialectic that play an important role in Rudolph Agricola's university-level teachings. Aphthonius notes, for instance, the standard distinction between *thesis* and *hypothesis*, and that the latter concerns specific civic causes (i.e., traditionally rhetorical concerns), while the former considers subjects from a general perspective (207^v). Interestingly enough, his example for thesis takes the positive side on the general question, "An ducenda sit vxor?" (207-210), the subject of Erasmus's persuasive letter, and perhaps the pedagogical prototype that inspired Erasmus to provide such an example. Yet, instead of advising a *specific* friend to marry (as Erasmus does), Aphthonius rather argues from the perspective of *general* conduct. His topics are the same as those used for arguing a law, which are similar to, but not a perfect match for those of classical deliberative oratory (207^r). (Here the topic of *legitimo* might make more sense.) Lorich also provides his own example arguing the opposite side, against marriage (214-218), thereby providing yet another sign that these exercises were intended to lead into or serve as pro-con declamation exercises.

Although Aphthonius's text was written in late antiquity, Lorich's attempt to align the exercises with classical genres calls attention to more or less sensible connections to treatments of deliberative rhetoric by classical rhetoricians, not to mention contemporary

epistolary manuals composed by fellow humanists. Beyond highlighting the recurrent special topics (e.g., *utile*, etc.), however, Lorch emphasizes that non-oratorical forms (i.e., maxims, fables, thesis, etc.) are nonetheless used to persuade or advise, especially since they espouse ethical principles, either in rudimentary forms, or as developed theses. In regards to the latter, recall that Agricola and fellow humanists had highlighted the instructional value of dialectic, which also dealt with subjects in a general fashion. Aphthonius's version of thesis in fact represents a rudimentary dialectical piece, which he notes can be either "civic" or "contemplative" (207^v). The *civic thesis* concerns moral, rather than scientific matters: subjects relevant to ethics and community (like marriage), not cosmology or nature. Civic theses, in other words, treat the very types of subjects that Aristotle had originally drawn upon to form his list of special persuasive topics for deliberative speaking. Thus Lorch's placement of this exercise under the deliberative genre makes quite a bit of sense. Significantly, Aphthonius's thesis is variously called a "consultatio" in the Latin translation of the original text (207^v).

Renaissance university instruction, finally, only further developed the rather open view towards consultation that students had acquired in grammar school, even as it gave direct access to the classical deliberative principles discussed above. Those who went to university would not only see how the more sophisticated classical works on oratory (Cicero's *De Oratore* and Quintilian's *Institutio Oratoria*) tended to be less rigid in teaching the three oratorical genres, they would also see that contemporary thinkers (Agricola, Ramus, etc.) had provided a great deal of encouragement and instruction for bringing dialectical forms of analysis and composition to bear on civic issues. With regards to rhetorical genre, then, the educated Elizabethan might see a variety of possible

routes for voicing input on civic matters, from recounting moralist school-texts to writing a letter of recommendation, from expounding upon the virtues to delivering a Ciceronian oration. The field of consultation was a wide-open, fertile ground.

III. The Cultural Contexts of the Council of Parliament: Political versus Royal Institutions

But while literate Elizabethans might be well versed in consultation on a variety of matters, one may wonder what opportunities were afforded them to affect specific decisions in civic matters actually being determined in public institutions, which as I noted earlier, were often restricted oratorical venues. Scholars of rhetoric would do well to cull from historical studies of local government the various occasions for oratory (or writing, for that matter) that called upon rhetorical skill for efficacy in collective decision-making. Even a more focused analysis of institutional decision-making, for instance, the administrative “parliaments” in the Inns of Court, would seem useful for demonstrating that deliberative rhetoric, perhaps in surprisingly non-classical forms, nonetheless played an important role in civic life. It may even prove more important than epideictic, especially the further one ventures from court culture.

Without discounting the importance of studying civic oratory in local settings, the rest of this dissertation will analyze, rather, consultation at the national level, especially to show that the rhetoric of consultation, in its rich and varied forms, took place even where the royal court had power and presence. If such consultation did take place, it would most probably happen when Parliament sat. The English Parliament was not only a public institution whose primary functions concerned all the political causes of classical deliberative oratory, finance and legislation especially, but it was also the one public

institution that allowed a broad base of citizenry to have a voice in state business through representation in the House of Commons. To be sure, it was not democratic. The kingdom was divided into three estates of unequal representation and power—Crown, Lords, and Commons—and the members for the House of Commons were not always chosen by the broad base of citizenry that they ostensibly represented.⁶⁴ Even so, the English monarchical system, or at least many of its contemporary theorists, did emphasize the need for the Crown and Lords to listen to the commons through their representatives. This, in fact, might be considered in itself a key function of Parliament, that is, to force such an interaction, to create a venue where commoners might be heard in the process of directing the ship of state. Consultation and consent were in fact required for the creation of Common Law and the levying of taxes on movable property.

The fifteenth-century legal theorist John Fortescue (?1394- ?1476) noted that this requirement of consultation distinguished the English monarchy from those on the continent. The continental regimes afforded the king *royal power* absolute, whereas the English system demanded that monarchs also wield *political power*. Fortescue explains the political obligations of English monarchs in *De Laudibus Legum Angliae* (ca. 1470), a text dedicated to the defense of English Common Law, especially in favor of the Roman Civil Law. The political obligations of English kings derived from the belief that their sovereignty was based upon willing rather than forced subjugation. This popular consent to be ruled was probably not a salient factor in day-to-day English life, yet it was

⁶⁴ Helen Miller, “Lords and Commons” (1983), 17-22; *PuT* 24-37. Some elections allowed only a handful of enfranchised men. Others, however, allowed over a thousand electoral votes. Yet even in the more democratic polls, the prestigious gentry and patrons of the constituency played a major role in determining who was sent to the Commons.

regularly invoked in the English method for producing statutes by mutual affirmation among all three estates in Parliament (as we shall see in the speeches examined in subsequent chapters). According to Fortescue, the monarch was obliged to uphold the Common Law produced by such broad-based consent, in order to have the earnest and willing support of the people (26^v; ch. 8). That support might consequently be manifested by the Commons' in a gift of a monetary subsidy to the Crown.

De Laudibus circulated in manuscript and Latin printings (1537, etc.) for decades and was finally published in 1567 with an English translation by a student of the Common Law, Robert Mulcaster, who entitled it, *A Learned Commendation of the Politique Laws of Englande*. Here is Mulcaster's translation of one piece of Fortescue's reasoning for why the English Common Law was superior to the Roman Civil Law:

Now whether the statuts of England bee good or not, that onely remainethe to be discussed. For they procede not onely from the princes pleasure as do the lawes of those kingdomes that are ruled onelye by regal governement, where sometymes [their] statuts do so procure the singular commoditie of the maker, that theye redounde to the hinderaunce and dammage of his subiectes. . . . [S]tatutes cannot thus passe in Englande, forsomuch as they are made not onelye by the Princes pleasure, but also by the asse[n]t of the whole royalme: so that of necessitie they must procure the wealth of the people, and in noe wise tende to theire hynderaunce. And it cannot otherwise bee thoughte, but that they [the laws] are replenished with muche wytte and wysedome, seeynge they are ordayned not by the devyse of one man alone, or of a hundrethe wise counsellors onelye, but of mo then three hundredreth chosen menne much agreeinge with the number of the auncient senatours of Roome: as they that know the fashion of the Parliament of Englande, and the order and maner of callyng the same together are hable more distinctly to declare. (40-41; ch. 18)

Given that, in Fortescue's estimation, the English monarch's political power rested in an ability to evoke the "assent of the whole royalme," it would seem to warrant the long awaited revival of classical rhetorical doctrine in England, not just for its epideictic

display, but also for its assistance in decision making. Fortescue's explicit comparison between the English Parliament and the Roman Senate clearly suggests that he viewed participation in contemporary state business as not unlike participation in the civic institutions of ancient Rome.⁶⁵

Later humanist writers would reinforce Fortescue's antiquarian view of Parliament as Senate, eschewing references to the archetype of the orator-civilizer, making rather direct comparisons between English persons and the institutions and orators of ancient Greece and Rome. Thomas Wilson, for example, in the dedication of his English translation of Demosthenes (1570), addresses William Cecil thus: "[Demosthenes] having bene a Counsellor in his Countrie as you now are in this Realme, he is your glasse" (*ii^r). George Whetstone likewise notes, in reflecting upon the Elizabethan age in general, how God sent England "a moste gracious Princes . . . and further, strengthened her highnesse by a Senate, and other needefull maiestrates so grave and pollitique" (*Remembraunce of Dier Aii^r*). The classical senatorial paradigm was also recognized under the Stuarts, where the disproportionate political spheres moved together much less harmoniously. James, for instance, complains that members of the House of Commons were causing unnecessary friction by acting as "Tribunes of the People"

⁶⁵ Although Fortescue himself prefers to ground his reasoning about state matters on Aristotle's political philosophy more than the Roman rhetoricians, who were not to become favorites in England for another half century, references to Aristotle's philosophical texts (*Politics*, *Ethics*, *Natural Philosophy*, *Posterior Analytics*) appear frequently in Fortescue's text (12, 21^r, 22, 27^v, 31, 38^v, etc.), as do references to biblical texts (5^r, 6-8, 9-10, 25^v, 28^v, etc.). There is no mention of Aristotle's *Rhetoric* and only one of a Roman rhetorician, Quintilian, and that for a general demonstration of the value and limitations of special knowledge (15^v). There is a passing reference to the "manner of oratours" (52^r) in composing proems and to the use of paradoxes by "rhetoricians" (22^v). These are not connected to the methods of politic government, but rather to the methods for presenting subject-matter.

(Bowyer 42), the members of the Roman Senate who spoke for the plebeians.

In spite of these associations with republican and democratic orators, however, the English monarch's *royal power* always factored into public life, as James's bristling against the demands of Parliamentary "Tribunes" would suggest. Along with the royal power came another concept of the *civitas*, one more akin to the Roman Empire than republican Rome or ancient Athens. The royal power, according to Fortescue, was the rule brought about by force, "lyke as a hunter subdueth wyld beastes lyvinge at their libertie, so did he [the king] bringe men under his obedience" (29^r; ch. 12). This power to subdue, which sounds so brutal to modern ears, nonetheless affords subjects some advantages: it defends them from foreign conquerors and it enforces laws (29-30; ch. 12). By the royal power, the monarch stabilized the *civitas*, providing safety for vassals. To use the figure so popular for discussing politics before the Enlightenment: without a powerful head, the body politic would probably fall victim to the force of another (e.g., William the Conqueror) or alternatively harm itself (e.g., The Wars of the Roses).⁶⁶

There was consequently a sense of civic life inside early modern England strikingly different from the politic ideal of popular assent portrayed in Fortescue's vision of Parliamentary legislation, to say nothing of its being antithetical to the classical ideal of democratic deliberative debate. This other civil society was grounded on obedience to the enforcer of law and an appreciation for the stability created by that rule. The only part of the English Common Law noticed by most subjects, after all, was the rod of enforcement wielded by crown appointees. True, the laws were ostensibly made with the

⁶⁶ William the Conqueror is Wilson's example for winning by force of "armor," rather than by words (*Arte of Rhetorique* 2); The Wars of the Roses are moving towards their culmination as Fortescue writes.

consent of the Commons—though no subjects except the three or four hundred elected members of Parliament were allowed to know what went on in the Commons chamber. And, true, the Common Law courts arranged a jury of disinterested neighbors for all cases. Yet this pseudo-democratic body was only one piece of the drawn-out process of seeking justice under civic officials, who were essentially deputies to the monarch (Fortescue, ch. 23).

The Common Law, moreover, was not the only rule of the realm. The Crown offered other ways of seeking justice and enforcing unilateral royal proclamations, not simply through various ministers of the crown, but also by creating alternative courts of judicature. These courts, the most notorious perhaps being the Star Chamber, did not proceed by the rules of Common Law, which, as we saw above, coexisted with the Roman Civil Law (hence Fortescue's defense).

Finally, we should note that beyond these alternative courts the monarch had an alternative council for decision-making on political issues, the Privy Council, which helped orchestrate and achieve the royal agenda before, during, and after the occasional meetings of Parliament. The favor-seeking and time-serving involved in filling the many appointed positions needed to sustain and execute royal power, whether in court or council, have come to be seen as the *modus operandi* of Tudor and Stuart *court* culture. This rigidly hierarchical civic life has regularly been pointed out in the literature of the period, which often emphasizes deference and obedience of subjects in the presence of royalty (sometimes sincere, sometimes not) and which so often portrays the misfortunes of states having weak kings (e.g., Henry VI) or unruly subjects (e.g., Jack Cade). This paradigm of the commonwealth is, moreover, the breeding ground of the negative

archetypes of the orator discussed in the introduction; it is also the hothouse for epideictic rhetoric in its most flattering forms.

While it seems we have two parallel models of civic voice, one reflecting the classical democratic or republican paradigm (that of outspoken citizens persuading toward common consent) and the other the imperial way of life (that of dutiful subjects submitting more or less to a prince), in truth these concepts of the *vita activa* became intertwined in the minds of English Renaissance thinkers, producing seemingly knotty paradoxes in consequence. For English statesmen, the classical orators served as exemplars of eloquent speech and virtuous conduct even when their rhetorical situations were strikingly incongruent. Thomas Wilson, for example, in the aforementioned dedicatory letter to William Cecil, elaborates upon the details of the mirror image seen of Cecil in Demosthenes: one can compare “[Demosthene’s] time, with this time; Countrie with Countrie: neighbours with neighbours: and King with King” (*ii^f). When we recall that Demosthenes spoke fervently *against* the “King” (Philip of Macedon) conquering democratic Athens, the comparison appears unwittingly ironic. Similar irony appears in George Whetstone’s encomium of Justice Dyer: Dyer was “severe when it with Justice stoode: / A *Tullie* right, all for his Contryes good” (Biii^v). True, Dyer was a successful lawyer, like Cicero. Dyer, however, served his country’s good not by speaking out in defense of unjustly accused citizens, Cicero’s forte, but rather by delivering verdicts against mean and lowly subjects. Dyer’s oratory, though in a court of law like Cicero’s, would have been an announcement (and perhaps a justification) of a decision, not an adversarial argument about what the equitable judgment should be, the paradigm of classical forensic oratory so lauded by the Roman rhetoricians. It does not take close

study to see that the oratory of judicial verdicts or courtroom administration involved quite a different type of persuasion (if threats count as such).⁶⁷

A similar ironic incongruity appears also in Whestone's introduction to Roman Emperor Alexander Severus's speeches, where he refers to Elizabeth's Privy Council as her "sages of ATHENS," a reference to the Greek Areopagus. The Privy Council owed allegiance to the Queen and her agenda, while the members of the Athenian Areopagus acted as free citizens. While the Privy Council did actually provide counsel to the monarch, even in the form of deliberative debate, its members were generally charged with moving the royal agenda in *public* forums, even when such motions contradicted those members' own *privy* advice to the monarch (see third chapter)—this form of subservient civic voice would have seemed foreign (i.e., *barbarous*) to Demosthenes, who spent a great amount of oratorical breath speaking against such subservience.⁶⁸

This tangle of texts, knit together from an idealist view of classical orators (who spoke out for the *civitas* of their own will) and a complimentary subservience towards royal officers (who spoke out in the process of filling their appointed duties), may well

⁶⁷ There are to my knowledge no focused rhetorical studies of judicial oratorical practice in the period. J. S. Cockburn's *History of English Assizes* (1986), however, provides some useful entry points for beginning such a study, not simply by identifying key sources of trial transcripts, but also by touching briefly here and there on the rhetorical duties of assize judges. Cockburn notes, for example, James Dyer's concept of "lawful menace" in bullying jurors to enforce the laws or citizens to follow them (109, 114). Compare Francis Bacon's verdict speech in *The Araignment of John Selman* (1612).

⁶⁸ Demosthenes describes Philip as, "*a stranger and a Barbarian*" (*Three Orations*, 26; translation and italics Wilson's) and "a man of Macedonie *one of the barbarous nation*" (36). Demosthenes' emphasis on Philips barbaric nature reflects as much his opposition to the encroachment upon Athens by a foreign nation (literally "barbarous" for the Greeks), as it does his feelings about the character of Philip (probably related to his being a foreigner). In fact, Demosthenes, in those orations translated by Wilson, repeatedly censures the orators in the Areopagus for acting like foreigners (28-29, 33), offering flattery instead of honest counsel for the commonwealth.

represent simple flattery for patrons, fashioning them by a conceited juxtaposition with admired historical figures. The comparisons presented by Whetstone and Wilson nonetheless illustrate how concepts of republican or democratic civil society operated as measures for civic engagement even for the most authoritarian (Dyer?) or Machiavellian (Cecil?) royal agents. Such comparisons, of course, beg the question: In what way did the sometimes antithetical ideas of civic life, conveyed alternatively in rhetoric handbooks (classical and contemporary), conduct books (for princes and subjects alike), historical treatises, and legal texts—to name a few sources—actually come together in the oratorical practice heard in state institutions?

As a venue of civic oratory and the ostensible foundation of the people's political power in monarchal England, Parliament appears to be the best place to begin answering this question. For, beyond the potentially paradoxical stances inherent in Fortescue's dualist theory of state power, the conditions of those serving in Parliament bear out all kinds of seemingly contradictory political positions. In Parliament the various strands of civic consciousness intertwine not only in the institutional structure, which recognized the Commons as a lawmaking power alongside the Crown, but also in the very demands placed on individual orators and audience members. The lawyers of Common Law, the custodians of the "politique laws of England," were, after all, regular *Crown* appointees (e.g., Francis Bacon). Civilians, frequent defenders of monarchical absolutism, served also as members of the House of Commons (e.g., Thomas Wilson—see others in Levack 45-46). Many MPs, moreover, served in the quasi-democratic nether house as a means to higher royal appointment, including the potential for peerage and consequently service in the upper house (see second chapter). Still others saw their duties as beholden to the

common people they represented (see fourth chapter). Such is the rich social and political tapestry serving as backdrop to Parliamentary discourse and complementing the equally rich textual treatments of civic voice presented to early modern orators in their academic, professional, and popular literatures and exercises.

IV. “Great Matters” of 1566: *An Elizabethae Virus Ducendus Sit?*

The 1566 Parliament, the case study under examination here, Neale has referred to as one of the “great assemblies” of the Elizabethan reign (*EP* 2:105). Although its proceedings were thought memorable, the session was called for much the same reason as other Elizabethan and Stuart Parliaments: the Crown needed a subsidy to pay for expenses caused either by extravagance or wars, or both. Elizabeth was actually not officially at war, but she had accrued great expenses in fortifying vulnerable positions and executing previous military actions.⁶⁹ Since, as mentioned above, Parliament was the only means of procuring money via a general tax, Elizabeth would be forced to call Parliament for *consent* to the subsidy. Unfortunately for her, summoning Parliament, even for the specific reason of finance (Aristotle’s first subject of deliberative debate), necessarily opened the door for Parliament’s *consultation* on many other matters, even on those she preferred to determine on her own.

In fact, members of the 1566 Parliament took full advantage of the opportunity to advise Elizabeth on two contentious matters: marriage and succession. To Elizabethans,

⁶⁹ Mortimer Levine, *The Early Elizabethan Succession Question 1558-1568* (1966), 167. While most of my historical details about the 1566 Parliament draw on Neale, Elton, and other scholarship on Parliament, I also have consulted Levine and Stephen Alford. *The Early Elizabethan Polity: William Cecil and the British Succession Crisis, 1558-1569* (1998).

so beholden to the royal power for safety and peace (Aristotle's secondary subjects), the question of who would rule them in the future was a matter of immediate concern. The oratorical acts that ultimately brought out Elizabeth's "hatred" for the 1566 Commons (see Introduction) all derive from their attempt to force her to establish firm succession by law—at least until she chose an acceptable spouse.

As was mentioned earlier, the 1566 session was actually an extension of the 1563 Parliament, during which the Commons petitioned her to marry (*EP* 1:106-113). Her response was inconclusive, and, after securing a subsidy, she prorogued Parliament until a later date, rather than put herself in the position of having to reject further petitions. In 1566, she knew that one of the "great matters" to surface would be her still unmarried state and the as of yet unclear line of English succession. Making these issues somewhat more urgent for the English polity, Mary Queen of Scots, a Catholic claimant to the Crown, both married and gave birth to James (who was hardly accepted then as the inevitable unifier of England and Scotland). Indeed, Elizabeth's first decade has been characterized as a "succession crisis," coming to culmination soon after the 1566 session.

From a historical perspective, it is terribly ironic that Elizabeth's counselors, being so schooled in arguing the subject of marriage, were never able to convince her of the merits of tying the knot at all costs. They were no more successful in convincing her to settle an heir by statute. Obviously there are political intrigues that complicate the matter beyond what even subtle humanist minds could handle. Even so, many a citizen-orator ventured to counsel the Queen to establish succession in order to avoid risk of civil war. Law students of Lincoln's Inn, for instance, took to debating the issue of succession

as “extracurricular activity” even as the 1566 Parliament began.⁷⁰

The most notable piece of drama written (and published) during the early years of Elizabeth’s reign, Thomas Norton and Thomas Sackville’s *Gorbuduc* (1561, 1565), plays out the tragic eventualities of leaving a kingdom with contested sovereignty. Fittingly enough, counselors good and bad play an important role in alternatively moralizing on the right thing to do for the people and leading princes down errant paths that cause the kingdom to implode. One author, Thomas Norton, was one of the most important members of the Elizabethan Commons. He has been characterized as one of the leaders in Elizabeth’s later sessions.⁷¹ He does not have much to say in 1566, perhaps because he had already tested Elizabeth’s patience with *Gorbuduc* and his participation in the 1563 petition, but his fellow MPs would take up his slack, as we shall soon see. First, however, come the opening ceremonies.

⁷⁰ See Levine, *Early Elizabethan Succession Question*, 170. Levine notes other pamphlet material as well.

⁷¹ M. A. R. Graves, “The Management of the Elizabethan House” (1983).

Chapter 2. A Civil Exchange in the English Areopagus: Onslow's Ceremonial

Speech

Each Parliament was a grand political event opened and shut by ceremony, not unlike modern legislative sessions of various nations. Customarily the Lord Chancellor or the Lord Keeper gave an opening oration declaring the chief cause for summoning the general council of the commonwealth. In the same speech, he exhorted the Lords and Commons to make sure the chief cause took precedence to other routine business, which included the creation of new laws as the two houses saw fit. While the completion of this oration would seem to be a fine cue to start legislative work, before conducting such business, the whole Parliament would again meet a day or two later with only slightly less pomp and circumstance, this time to allow the sovereign's confirmation of the Speaker of the House of Commons. From here the Lords and Commons would conduct their affairs more or less separately, composing, refining, and voting on bills for various issues. Finally, at the end of each session, both houses would reconvene in the chamber of the Lords with the sovereign present. After closing ceremonial speeches from the Speaker of the Commons and Lord Chancellor, the monarch would give "royal assent" (or withhold it, as the case might be), thereby turning individual bills approved by both houses into Common Law statutes. Then the Chancellor would dismiss the Lords and Commons until an undetermined point of time when Parliament's services for legislation and taxation were once again required by the Crown. It was after Lord Keeper Bacon's dissolution speech for the 1566 Parliament that Elizabeth rose to berate the Commons, an act outside usual ceremonial proceedings, but well within protocol.

The question for scholars of rhetoric is what to make of the set speeches taking

place as a regular part of the ceremonial opening and closing of Parliament, an institution ostensibly associated with deliberative debate on civic issues. Ceremonial speech is commonly thought to reflect epideictic, not deliberative discourse, given the focus on public display through set pieces, rather than public decision-making through pro-con exchange. Recall from the previous chapter the classical distinction between an audience of spectators, who heard praise and blame on various subjects, and those composed of judges, who deliberated future actions or issued verdicts about past actions.

After all, the *non-verbal* aspects of Elizabethan opening ceremonies were clearly orchestrated to impress an audience of *spectators*, as the following excerpts from a heraldic account of the 1563 opening demonstrates. The first part of the account includes a description of the royal train proceeding on its way, “from the Pallace of Westminster at the While Hall unto the churche and soe to the parliament howse” (*PiPE* 1:67). After a long catalogue of bishops, knights, and lords of various degrees, we finally are painted a striking picture of Elizabeth and her immediate entourage.

Then the Queene’s Majestie on horseback, a litle behinde her the Lord Chamberlaine and Vicechamberlaine, her Grace apparrelled in her mantle open before, furred with ermyns, and her kirtle of crymson velvett close before and close sleeves, but the hands turned up with ermins, and a hood hanginge lowe round about her necke of ermins; over all a rich collar sett with stones and othe jewells, and on her head a riche calle. And next after her the Lord Robert Dudley, Master of the Horse, leadinge the spare horse. And after all other, ladies two and two in their ordinary apparell. Beside the Queene went her footmen, and alonge of either side of her went the Pencyoner with their axes. After the ladies followed the Captaine of the Gard, Sir William St. Loe, and after him the Guard. (*PiPE* 1:68)

This entire parade of worthies was essentially a mobile version of the royal court, making its way to the Parliament chambers. Once at “the church” of Westminster, all went inside to hear a service, including a sermon by “Mr Noell, Deane of Paule’s,” who “first made

his prayer orderlie for the Queene's Majestie and the universall Church, and especiallie for the honourable assemblie of the iij estates there present, that they might make such lawes as should be to God's glorie and the welth of the realme." After the sermon, the attendees proceeded to the chamber of the House of Lords, wherein the members of the higher house took their places, making special adjustments to accommodate the Queen's presence, which was not standard except in the opening and closing ceremonies. Finally, "The Queene beeing sett, the lower howse was lett in. Then the Queen's Majestie commaunded the Lord Keeper to open the cause of calling and assembling of this parliament" (*PiPE* 1:69). This speech declaring "the cause of calling and assembling" was the first of each Parliament. If the heraldic accounts are any indication, the event was considered a grand affair, important enough to be recounted for popular consumption, like contemporary dissemination of royal visitations. This ostentatious event represents probably the greater part of what the reading public could know of Parliamentary proceedings, beyond the body of new statutes they would have to follow.

The visual elements of the ceremony do seem to correspond quite well with traditional functions of epideictic, the fine vestments and jewelry acting like so many verbal ornaments, effectively transferring praise via rich, decorous clothing. But the signs and structures of the ceremonies also perform what modern scholars have found to be the more civically respectable function of epideictic, that is, to convey and reinforce the shared values of the community. The title of James McManamon's book on Italian funeral oratory illustrates the connection between epideictic and community building quite well: *Funeral Oratory and the Cultural Ideals of Italian Humanism* (1989). McManamon explains his choice of funeral oratory as a rhetorical genre relevant to the

study of shared cultural values: “Funeral oratory comprises a species within the genre of epideictic rhetoric. Italian humanists overwhelmingly pursued the eloquence of praise and censure and used that genre in typical fashion to deepen values and change attitudes. It is a rhetoric prone to portray things as they should be” (2). His first chapter, not surprisingly, treats the *virtues* as fruitful field for epideictic embellishment. His second chapter treats *bona externa*, the sources of praiseworthy material deriving from birth, fortune, and wealth—in other words, those things emphasized by the ostentatious dress and studied arrangement of Elizabeth’s royal train. Such a display would give proof to all citizens lucky enough to see it that the social hierarchy was intact and that the commonwealth was in the hands of praiseworthy individuals, or, at any rate, individuals who looked the part.

But did the ceremonial *speeches* opening Parliament reflect the traditional epideictic penchant for diversionary display and communal values, or did they reflect the subsequent deliberative debate about differences presumed to take place within traditional decision-making venues? Recall that the opening invocation communicated to the audience the reason for Parliament’s assembly. The speech introduced the key issues for which the sovereign required Parliament’s decisions. Peter Mack’s chapter on Parliamentary oratory, the only study so far to analyze these speeches as important rhetorical (rather than simply historical) compositions, notes that Nicholas Bacon’s 1571 opening oration includes both elements reflective of “display” and also an “unmistakable allusion to rhetorical teachings about deliberative oratory,” all the while sounding “more like a medieval thematic sermon, a scholastic determination, or even a Ramist treatise, than a four-part classical oration” (219-221). Francis’s father appears to have made the

most of all parts of his humanist composition training. But as Mack notes, later ceremonial openings, like Christopher Hatton's in 1589, highlight "the topics of deliberative oratory (holy, just, honourable, necessary)" (231). Of course, we should remember from our previous chapter that the topics of epideictic speech were essentially treated as the spurs for deliberate action. What separates deliberative discourse from epideictic is the attention to persuasive arguments on *particular* courses of action.

The truth is that the speeches at the opening of Parliament are hard to pin down according to the classical tripartite division of oratorical genre, since they do not generally take a specific position on what exactly should be done, nor do they generally seek to praise or blame anyone in particular, though occasionally they did.¹ Yet for our larger study of Parliamentary speech, we should keep the deliberative ideals (not to mention techniques and topics) in mind and attempt to understand the decision-making function of the institution as a whole. All the while, we cannot forget the attention to display either, given how much the social hierarchy appears to be emphasized in the arrangement of Parliament into three disparate estates.

The opening ceremonial speeches, in fact, offer a valuable opportunity for understanding how the disparate spheres of contemporary civic life came together to act as a more or less unified commonwealth. As we shall see, the ceremonial speeches (however we may classify them according to classical genre) play an important role in

¹ If we were willing to eschew the classical codification of civic speech, we might simply call these speeches "charge" orations, putting them in line with the contemporary "jury charges," which mix elements of deliberative, judicial, and epideictic all together. See, for example, William Lambarde, *William Lambarde and Local Government* (1962), ed. Conyers Read. This collection includes twenty-nine charge orations. For more general discussion of this oratorical tradition, and though used to enforce the Common Law, see: J. S. Cockburn, *A History of English Assizes 1558-1714*, 230-237, *passim*.

orchestrating the relationship between court culture and the commonwealth at large. The former may feed on epideictic orations, but the latter required specific actions, and Parliament played an important role in creating Common Law statutes.

As it happens, the Chancellor's opening is not the only important ceremonial speech occurring at the opening of Parliament, nor perhaps the best for understanding the civic culture common to Parliamentary discourse in general. In fact, there was no Chancellor's oration for the 1566 Parliament. This session was actually an extension of the Parliament initially called in 1563—in other words, it included the same elected and appointed members and also the same standing declaration on the desired ends of Parliamentary business. The “great causes” of 1563 still mattered in 1566. Consequently, the first order of business that brought the Lords and Commons together in front of the Queen was not the Chancellor's oration on the crown's agenda, but it was rather the confirmation ceremony of the Speaker of the House of Commons, an elected post that was filled each new Parliament, or as the case was in 1566, upon the death of the sitting Speaker between sessions. The post was one of great prestige. Its holder would be known as the "Mouth of the Commons," and he would bear the duty of exhorting the monarch at the end of the session to assent to all the bills passed by the lower house. It is from the 1566 confirmation ceremony of a new Speaker that we will extract a speech for the focal point of this chapter. Analysis of this speech and other speeches involved in the Speaker's confirmation ceremony will help us understand better the institutional contexts of Parliamentary speech in general, a venue that pitted courtiers with commoners (not to mention lords with clergy) for the purposes of civic debate.

I. Advice on a Decision: Richard Onslow's Counsel for the Queen

Below is a speech by Speaker-elect Richard Onslow (1527-1571) quoted in its entirety (approximately 800 words). It was originally delivered on 2 October, 1566, the third day of the second session of Elizabeth I's second Parliament. Each Speaker-elect, before assuming his office, was presented in front of the House of Lords to the Queen, who ratified the lower house's election in a ceremony that included some of the very few oratorical addresses spoken before all three estates of Parliament. What may seem strange to modern readers, however, is the fact that his speech is effectively the opposite of a modern campaign speech: Onslow urges his audience (Elizabeth I in particular) to recognize his *lack* of qualifications for the position to which he has been elected.

[¶ 1] IF it please your Royal Majesty, most Vertuous and most Excellent Princess, At the humble Suit of the Knights, Citizens and Burgesses of your nether House of Parliament, now Assembled, was signified from your Majesty, by the mouth of the Lord Keeper, by force of your Highness Letters of Commission, your pleasure and grant of free Election to the Knights, Citizens and Burgesses, to chuse a fit, and learned man, to be their Speaker, instead of Thomas Williams Esq; their late Speaker, whom it hath please God to call to his Mercy.

[¶ 2] For which they have Commanded me, in their Names, to render, unto your Majesty most humble thanks; And have Commanded and forced me, to my great grief, to signifie to your Majesty, how accordingly they have proceeded to an Election, and chosen and assigned me (as I may say) being most unworthy to speak in this place, for this Parliament; and for that I would not be obstinate, I am forced to wound my self with their Sword, which wound yet being green and new, your Majesty being the perfect Physician, may Cure in disallowing that which they have allowed; for that, without your consent it is nothing. And although I being very loth to trouble your Highness, have made Suit and used all ways and means to avoid it, yet could I find no remedy; and therefore am driven to seek remedy at your hands; for though I have the experience of their uprightness, wisdom and knowledge, which chose me, who if they would have found any fault in me I would lightly have believed them (notwithstanding that we are for the most part given to think too much of our selves) but in this day, that they seem to enable me to this calling, whereof I know my self unable, I cannot credit them, no more than the

simple Patient grievously tormented with sickness, will believe the Physician, nay the whole Colledge of them, if they say he hath no grief, pain or sickness.

[¶ 3] I therefore do not attempt this releasing of me for any ease of my self, but would be glad to serve your Majesty, to the uttermost of my Power, in the Office of Sollicitorship, whereunto I am appointed, and not in this, being unfit for the same; and that for divers Causes. For first, I consider, I have to deal with many well Learned, the Flower and Choice of the Realm, whose deep understanding my Wit cannot attain to reach unto. No, if they for great carefulness would often inculcate it into my dull Head, to signifie the same unto your Highness, yet my Memory is so slippery by Nature and Sickness, that I should likely lose it by the way; yet if perhaps I kept part thereof, I have no other knowledge to help my self withall, but a little in the Law, far inferiour to divers in this House; and so should want Learning and Utterance to declare their meanings, as it requireth; specially when I consider your Royal Majesty, a Princess endowed with so many Vertues, Learning and flowing Eloquence, it will abash and astonish me; and therefore finding these infirmities, and other in me, I think my self most unworthy of this place.

[¶ 4] I trust therefore only in your Highness, that you will disallow this Election; and the rather, for that by the true intent of your said Letters, it may not be gathered that they should elect any of your Majesties Officers; for although the words be to have their free Election, yet the Law may restrain them in some measure: As for Example, we find in the Law, that if it would please your Majesty, to grant Licence to a Dean and Chapter, to purchase to them and their Successors, a hundred pound yearly; which words be generally: yet if the purchased Lands be holden in *Capite*, this grant is void. And again, if you grant the Fines and Amerciaments of all your Tenants to one, who after chanceth to be Sheriff of a Shire, yet being a Sheriff he cannot have them. So this (me seemeth) if it please your Highness, serveth my Case.

[¶ 5] Another Cause is for want of substance to maintain this my Countenance; but yet your Majesties goodness in this point stoppeth my Mouth, for that I have none other living, but in manner by you. So for all these considerations, and divers others, as it shall please your Majesty to consider, I humbly desire your Highness to disallow this Election, Commanding them to repair again together, and to chuse another more fit, to serve the same. (D'Ewes 97-98; paragraphing mine)

Most strange to readers acquainted with modern political speaking may be the specificity and self-effacement of Onslow's persuasions against his appointment. He does not simply bow out gracefully, but rather makes extended arguments for his inability and uses

ornament, figures of speech in particular, to raise the emotional stakes. He laments, for example, the "wound" inflicted on him by the Commons' choice and portrays Elizabeth I as his only true "Physician"; fellow MPs in the Commons, by contrast, he depicts as physicians who do not have the bedside manner to listen to their patient's complaints.

Were the reference to his pitiable wound the whole of his speech, rather than just the proem, it would probably be critiqued as a self-serving personal petition relying too much on emotional appeals. Onslow goes on, however, to give more solid confirmation of the Commons' mistake in electing him. Thus he notes the ultimate confusion in proceedings that would result from his inability to understand the legal arguments of the many outstanding lawyers who were then members of the Commons. Such legal minds leave him wanting "Learning and Utterance to declare their meanings"; that is, they leave him without the ken of subject-matter and refinement of speech required to fulfill the office of Speaker, whose duties included refereeing debates about statutes. Though he defers presentation of other confirming arguments, relying instead upon the Queen's "goodness" in listening to his advice, and choosing not to test his audience's patience with more reasoning, he does take care to refute the main counterargument to his speech: the fact that he was elected by the free will of the Commons. Onslow refutes this counterargument by asserting the higher power of the Queen to overrule the commons, a point he argues not simply on principle, but also with supporting examples. Some of the reasoning might seem humorous to modern readers, but the attention to the logic and evidence in support of his petition indicates a sincere rhetorical effort, whatever the tenor.

Indeed, Onslow's calculated crafting should be recognized as reflecting classical theories of rhetorical technique. According to the classical generic categories outlined in

the first chapter, this speech appears to be an example of deliberative oratory, whose purpose is to council the audience on the *advantageous* or *expedient* course of action (*Rhet.* 1.3.5; *Ad Her.* 3.2.3; *De Inv.* 2.51.156; *Part. Or.* 24.83). A *dissuasive* deliberative speech, such as Onslow's, aims in particular at proving *inexpedient* a previously suggested proposal, a point that Onslow makes in his explanation of how he is "unfit" to be Speaker as proposed by the Commons. But a deliberative speech, whether for or against a proposal, must also demonstrate feasibility for the proposed course of action (*Part. Or.* 26.94; *Inst. Or.* 3.8.25). Thus Onslow illustrates how Elizabeth's royal prerogative can undo the "wound" caused by the Commons' election. Moreover, Onslow uses the classically recommended method for demonstrating feasibility and deliberative cases in general by way of paradigms of past action analogous to the proposed solution (*Rhet.* 3.17.5; *Ad. Her.* 3.3.4, 3.5.9; *Inst. Or.* 3.8.6), in this case, previous exercise of royal prerogative to overrule the Commons' choice.

Even the opening emotional appeal reflects classical rhetorical technique. Classical manuals commonly suggest that the proem and peroration are the proper places for evoking emotions and the good will of the audience, while they reserve the body of the speech for logical argument (*Rhet.* 3.14.5-9; *Ad Her.* 1.3.4-1.5.8; *Inst. Or.* 4.1.33, 6.2.20). Onslow's lengthy second and third sentences wallow in self-pity about his wound, before coming to more rational points. Perhaps more indicative of classical rhetorical strategies is the use of ornate language as the designated vehicle for arousing emotion and producing sympathetic feelings (*Rhet.* 3.14.11; *Ad. Her.* 4.8.11-12; *Inst. Or.* 8.3.5-6). Admittedly, this short speech might not be the fullest or best demonstration of classical rhetorical technique in the Renaissance, but Onslow nonetheless shows the self-

conscious crafting one would expect from a civic speaker who takes seriously the gravity of state business and who understands the persuasive methods commonly used to move an audience to make a deliberate decision.

The question of Onslow's eloquence as a civic orator, that is, his effectiveness in using speech to achieve his aims in state business, might best be left to his contemporaries. For that response, we have a short oration by Nicholas Bacon, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal during the first decades of Elizabeth's reign. According to accounts of the Parliament, Bacon, after hearing Onslow's speech, consulted with Elizabeth about her choice and then reported that decision in the following oration:

Mr Onslow, The Queens Majesty hath heard and well understood this disabling your self to this Office; and doth well perceive your earnest Suit to be discharged of the same; and for Answer, hath Commanded me to say, that she doubteth not, but you very well understand, that when one is chosen to serve the Common-Wealth, it is not in him which is called, who hath appointed him thereunto. Also there is an old similitude, that like as it appertaineth to the head, to dispose every inferior member in his place, so it pertaineth to the Queens Majesty, being the Head, to appoint every one in the Common-Wealth; This being truth, and her Majesty withal remembring your Fidelity and long Experience in Parliament matters, and again being chosen by so learned and expert men, thinketh therefore your fitness needeth not to be disputed here, and therefore they giving unto you such Faith and Credit, according to an Antient Custom, she cannot but do the like; and also you in disabling your self have abled your self, and therefore she doth allow and approve this their Election, nothing doubting her opinion in your ability to serve this turn; and so ended. (D'Ewes 98)

It would seem that poor Onslow was too eloquent for his own good ("in disabling your self have abled your self ") and that he failed in his last opportunity to demonstrate his inability to assume the office of Speaker, ironically, by speaking too well. For consolation, however, Onslow could note that no previous Speaker-elect successfully persuaded a sitting sovereign that the Commons chose the wrong man. Thomas Gargrave

(d. 1578), the Speaker of Elizabeth's first Parliament (1559), for instance, made the same fatal mistake of "disabling" himself too well, as Nicholas Bacon then pointed out in this manner: "your self, seeking in humble and reverent manner your own discharge and disablement, have indeed, by well, comely, modest and orderly doing thereof, given no small cause, whereby you are to be enabled" (D'Ewes 16). And so does Thomas Williams (1513?-1566) in the first session of the second Parliament (1563), again, as Bacon noted in response: "your modest Order in disabling your self, doth right well declare your ability to furnish the place" (63). The humanist program of rhetorical education was clearly investing its pupils with eloquence beyond their desires.

Speakers after Onslow fared no better. Edward Coke (1552-1634), Speaker in Elizabeth's eighth Parliament (1593), tries to garner the Queen's sympathy by declaring himself, "untimely Fruit, not yet ripe, but a bud, scarcely blossomed" (459), but this figure is no more effective than Onslow's lamentation of his open "wound." The new Lord Keeper, John Puckering, objects to Coke's excuse: "by endeavouring to deject and abase your self and your desert; you have discovered and made known your worthiness and sufficiency to discharge the place you are called to." Under James I, in his third Parliament (1621), then Chancellor Francis Bacon likewise informs Speaker-elect Thomas Richardson, "you have disabled your Self, in so good, and decent a Fashion; As the *Manner*, of your *Speech*, hath destroyed, the *Matter* of it" (Bacon, *Resuscitatio* 94; italics of original editor, William Rawley).

By now you will have discerned that these two speeches, the Speaker's excuse and the Lord Chancellor's (or Lord Keeper's) rejection of that excuse, are truly ironic in a rhetorical sense and not simply from a historical perspective (i.e., that all the excuses

were rejected). Everyone in attendance assumes that the Speaker-elect will be confirmed, and everyone assumes that the Speaker-elect expects to be confirmed, no matter how earnestly he excuses himself. Everyone knows, moreover, that after the Lord Chancellor or Keeper has "enabled" the Speaker to be the new "mouth of the commons," he will fulfill the first duty of that office by making a petition for specific privileges for himself and fellow members of the House of Commons. And everyone expects that, before being dismissed to carry out Parliamentary business in earnest, the sovereign, through the mouth of the Lord Chancellor, will grant all the parts of this petition, albeit with a stern warning not to abuse the requested freedoms. Such predictability in the oratorical performance of this parliamentary exchange reminds us that besides being thoroughly educated in rhetoric during this period, the typical Renaissance *vir civilis* has also been catechized through and through.

II. Civic Voice in the Set Speech? An Early Modern Perspective

In fact, some may object that these orations, because of their catechistic nature, do not represent genuine civic voice, at least not the kind that is so often associated with the "power of eloquence" depicted in classical rhetorical handbooks and their Renaissance reformulations. As support for these objections one might note that these opening orations are often depicted as inconsequential by modern historians. T. E. Hartley, for example, in his comments on the first Parliament of Elizabeth, suggests that these speeches were, during the Elizabethan period, "sheer pantomime" (*PiPE* 1:3). About Onslow in the 1566 Parliament, Hartley glosses the man as "demonstrating in the traditional disabling speech . . . that he was capable of new heights of sophisticated

pedantry" (1:119). J. E. Neale, typically less dismissive of ceremonial Elizabethan orations, assesses a later example of the Chancellor's enabling speech as a "schoolroom exercise" and "a polished gem . . . as artificial and empty as the occasion" (*EP* 2:201).

To support the emptiness of the ceremonial disabling speech historians can note as well that the Speaker of the House of Commons, though elected by the House of Commons as a whole, was essentially pre-selected by the Privy Council, and therefore a planted functionary, not (it would seem) an independent citizen-orator exalted for his speaking ability. The typical procedure for election in the Commons involved various customary actions and set speeches, not unlike the confirmation ceremony itself. On the first official day of Parliament, after the Chancellor (or in his stead, the Lord Keeper) had delivered his convocation speech, the Commons were told to "repair to [the] Common House, and there . . . select one, both grave and discreet" to serve as their "Common Mouth, and Speaker" (D'Ewes 14). Upon returning to the lower chambers, someone, usually a member of the Queen's Privy Council would nominate a fellow Commons member for the office of Speaker. The nominee would then deliver a "disabling" speech to the Commons, one similar to that eventually delivered before the monarch and the lords. After the initial nomination, which was almost never followed by another, someone would call for a vote, which was almost always unanimous in favor of the nominee. After a few more shows of humility, the new Speaker-elect would be led down to the Speaker's chair in the lower house, almost forcibly as the accounts seem to suggest, by two senior members of Commons, typically the ones who nominated him.² At the chair the new

² See *PuT*, 45. Contemporary accounts of this procedure appear in various journals: *PiPE*, 3:226-229; *PiPE*, 3:282; *PiPE* 3:300-302. One of the more interesting

Speaker-elect would receive the chief ornament of the office, a mace that served as the Speaker's gavel, a symbolic tool for keeping order among the debates in the house.³

Given the underlying political machinations surrounding the various speeches associated with the Speaker's appointment, it is hard to evaluate them as politically effectual in themselves, and especially difficult to see them as demonstrating the power of the Speaker of the House of Commons as outspoken citizen. Here the royal power seems to have usurped utterly the civic voice of the lower house. The Speaker's orations, coming from a crown appointee, bear lightly the weight of individual purpose and heavily the burden of the crown's agenda. Whatever politic power Fortescue saw in Parliament appears markedly out of balance with the royal power, if we are to assume that civic speech need be for the purposes of moving political agendas.

But perhaps such measures of the significance of civic speech—that it produce easily identifiable or historically notable "results" in accordance with a particular speaker's political aims (as opposed to the simple aim of being politic)—are anachronistic for the early modern period (to say nothing of their being narrowly idealistic for any period). There is, in fact, a great deal of evidence to suggest that, in the case of the set speeches confirming the Speaker, the predetermined results did not diminish the sense that the participants were exercising grand oratory in the classical tradition, and moreover

accounts is found in a 1584 diary by William Fleetwood, recorder of London and outspoken Parliamentary antiquarian. There Fleetwood, always attentive to precedent (*EP* 2:92, 124, 187), notes the irregularity of the ceremony in Elizabeth's fifth Parliament, which was populated by an abundance of newcomers (*PiPE* 2:65). Ironically, it was not the newcomers Fleetwood had to nudge (like daydreaming alterboys), but old hats Francis Knollys (Treasurer of the Queen's Household) and James Croft (Comptroller of the same)—perhaps Fleetwood was concerned about Knollys and Croft's irregularities setting a new precedent for the those unfamiliar with the old ways.

³ Dasent provides a portrait of Onslow with the mace (*op. cit.* 140).

fulfilling their duties as citizens in a strikingly personalized manner.

The first piece of evidence is the variety and ingenuity of the individual speeches themselves. Though they always excused themselves, the various Speakers-elect brought to the higher house for confirmation have found unique ways of illustrating their lack of fitness for the position. They seem to take great pride in personalizing their expression of inability. We already saw how Onslow used the metaphor of the patient. Below are some other variations of the same disabling principle (one of which has already been partially quoted above):

[K]nowing my own imbecility . . . as one amongst the Romans chosen from the Plough to a place of Estimation, and after to the Plough again; even so, I a Countryman, fit for the same, and not for this place, most humbly desire your Majesty, to discharge me hereof, and to appoint some other more able.

– Thomas Williams (D'Ewes 63, 15 Jan. 1563)

It behooveth such person to be wise, learned, discrete, grave and temperat, and also to have ability of liveing to carrie the countenance of that vocation, wherein I must confess the trueth of myselfe, the which is, that which in any of these in me is most, is rather a tast and a shaddowe then a substance.

– Robert Bell (*PiPE* 1:338, 10 May 1572)

I am untimely Fruit, not yet ripe, but a bud, scarcely blossomed: So as I fear me, your Majesty will say, *Neglecta frugi eliguntur folia*: Amongst so many fair Fruit ye have plucked a shaking Leaf.

– Edward Coke (D'Ewes 459, 22 Feb. 1593)

Give me Leave therefore, most prudent and deserving Sovereign, to appeal from their misled Opinions, by the misguide of their Favours, to Your approved Justice and Judgment, and rather therein to blemish my defective Self, by laying open my secret Imperfections, and thereby endamaging only mine own particular Private, than to deceive their Hopes (being of me but waking Dreams) and wrong the Weight of this so great and important publick Service; which requireth to be managed by the absolute Perfection of Experience, the Mother of Prudence; by the Profoundness of Literature, the Father of true Judgment; and by the Fulness and Grace of Nature's Gifts, which are the Beauty and Ornament of Arts and Actions; from the

Virtues of all and every whereof I am so far estranged, that not tasting of Parnassus' Springs at all, nor of that Honey, left upon the Lips of Plato and Pindarus by the Bees, Birds of the Muses, as I remain touched with the Error of the contrary, and thereby am disabled to undergo the Weight of so heavy a Burthen, under which I do already groan, and shall both faint and fail, and if not by Your Justice disburdened, or by Your Clemency commiserated.

– Edward Phelips (*CJ*, 22 Mar. 1604)

[T]he Representative Body of Your Commons, according to their ancient Privilege, and Your Majesty's Gracious Directions, have chosen a Speaker; and, amongst so many Cedars of their Libanon, have looked down upon me, a low Shrub, who am not able to take upon me the Weight of such Services

– Thomas Crewe (*LJ*, 21 Feb. 1624)

These excerpts illustrate how the simple concept of self-disabling was variously adapted by different Speakers. Thomas Williams styles himself a simple country gentleman, albeit by way of literary-historical reference to Rome's sixteen-day dictator, Lucius Quinctius Cincinnatus (Livy 3.26-29).⁴ Robert Bell, thought by Neale to be of a "Puritan cast of mind" (*EP* 1:91), chooses a more metaphysical depiction of his inabilities, calling them shadows of substance. Edward Coke adorns his simple agrarian metaphor with a bit of Latin, thereby adding an apt verbal paradox (i.e., simplicity with sophistication) to complement the visual paradox of a man over forty claiming himself "unripe" (cf. Dasent, 147; *PiPE* 3:65).⁵ Edward Phelips, who gave the longest disabling speech on

⁴ Cicero also refers to the legend of Cincinnatus in *De Senectute* (16.56). Cicero there connects the etymology of *senatus* with *senis*; perhaps Williams recalled this grammar-school trivia in composing his speech to the English "senate." In any case, the reference to Cincinnatus presents another ironic twist of classical and early modern political sensibilities: Cincinnatus was on one hand elected by "common consent" of the Senate; on the other hand the post he assumed was dictator, a position of temporary absolute authority invoked often in the early Republic to resist encroaching royal powers. All the while, Cincinnatus had an adversarial relationship with the tribunes of the plebeians, whose elected position might best be described, "speakers for the commons."

⁵ Coke's gloss on his own words show that he is also making a Latin pun: *frugi*,

record (hence my longer excerpt), eschews any simplicity and excuses himself in a grandiloquent periodic sentence. Our last example, however, shows that Speakers did not feel obliged to top earlier displays. Rather, Thomas Crewe offers simply another variation the ironic display of inability, portraying himself as a bush among trees.

The same care was used for the other speeches in the ceremonial exchange, including the comparatively short enabling speech of the Chancellor. The few quotations presented in the previous section should show how individual Chancellors enjoyed *troping* the paradoxical rationale for appointment (i.e., that the Speaker's speech claiming inability shows ability). The younger Bacon, for example, translates this into an abstraction of "manner" canceling out "matter." Lord Keeper Williams, enabling Thomas Crew in 1625, translates it thus: "your rhetoric has spoiled your logic" (*PiP-1625* 37).⁶ The Chancellors, moreover, do more than fashion their own manner of rejection; they also demonstrate careful responsiveness to the Speaker-elect's own self-fashioning. John Puckering (Lord Keeper in 1593), for example, directly addresses Edward Coke's claim that he was a "*corpus opacum*" by extending the metaphor: "her Majestie by the influence of her vertue and wisdom doth enlighten yow" (*PiPE* 3:66).⁷

the dative of *frux* (fruit), was used as an indeclinable adjective for "a good and honeste man" (Udall 166), an apt description of the desired qualities of a Speaker of the Commons. This usage of *frugi* was well documented by Coke's time: Quintilian mentions it briefly in his discussion of good Latin usage (1.6.17); Cicero glosses its origin in *Tusculan Questions* (3); Nicholas Udall cites both classical authors and Terence's usage as well in his *Floures for Latine Spekyng Selected and Gathered out of Terence* (1538, etc.). Also see Quintilian's use of similar agrarian (i.e., whether fruit be preferred to leaves) metaphors to justify ornamented speech (8.3.3-10). We see the conventional usage of *frugi* in the 1571 debates about usury (*PiPE* 1:235)).

⁶ This appears in another source as "rhetoric has spoiled the rhetoric" (*PiP-1625* 36). Editors Jansson and Bidwell favor the text quoted above as accurate.

⁷ Whether it was Puckering or Elizabeth who chose to extend Coke's metaphor is

This personalized rhetorical effort continues into the other speeches, though with much less irony. Speakers in their petition orations often made extended statements on the condition of the state, before introducing the standard request for privileges. And Chancellors often outlined point by point their responses according to the Speaker's petition oration, first the key arguments of any prefatory comments, then each requested privilege one by one—as if the sovereign were considering them for the first time. This willingness to adhere to the irony of the ceremony and its fiction of decision-making demonstrates a sincere respect for civic custom and the oratorical vehicles used to carry out the ceremony.

A second piece of evidence illustrating that these set speeches were perceived as having genuine civic import is the critical commentary surrounding them. First, we have the perfunctory notes in the official journals that individual speeches were "eloquent" or "eloquently" delivered.⁸ Admittedly these *pro forma* comments do little more than bolster the evidence of careful crafting shown above. In some private journals, however, there appear more candid remarks on the speeches and their delivery. Hayward Townshend notes about Christopher Yelverton's speech, which he could not attend in person, that his

an intriguing authorial question. Unfortunately, without an account of what was said by the sovereign in the private conference with the Lord Chancellor, we have to defer to the orator's authority over the spoken word, even if the gist of the speech (i.e., that the Speaker-elect be enabled) we know comes from the sovereign—or perhaps more accurately, from custom. But we do have Christopher Yelverton's account of what he learned about the conference between Keeper and Queen taking place at his own enabling ceremony, where the Chancellor repeats *verbatim* at least a few of Elizabeth's words (see more below). In any case, the distinct voice of each Chancellor's enabling speeches seems to warrant the orator's own discretion concerning how to present the material he is commanded to deliver. This scenario, nonetheless, appears an interesting paradigm of collaborative composition, one worth further study.

⁸ *CJ* on 2 Oct. 1566 and 20 Jan. 1580; *PiPE*, 2:367; *PiP-1625*, 34.

colleagues thought it "an excellent and learned oratione" (*PiPE* 3:229). For that oration, we also have some intriguing notes from Yelverton himself, who relays to us second-hand Elizabeth's own immediate response to his disabling speech: "[Lord Keeper Egerton] after told me in private that the Quene gave him in commaundement to saie unto me there in his answere to my speach that the eloquence which I had used was naturall, and not affected, which wordes in his speach unto me he did indeed use" (*PiPE* 3:189). Other journals pay more attention to the form of the ceremony itself. In his collation of journals (ca. 1630), Simond D'Ewes offers detailed commentary on the formalities of the ceremony, noting especially breaches in custom (41-42).

But perhaps the most telling commentary of this kind comes from a text quite familiar to modern scholars of Renaissance rhetoric, one often used to illustrate both the extended reach of classical rhetoric's stylistic guidelines and the commonly perceived "power of eloquence" in early modern England: George Puttenham's *Arte of English Poesie* (1589).⁹ Puttenham's *Arte* transfers the orator-civilizer from the realm of classical oratory to that of court poetry, the shared bond being a critical appreciation for eloquent speech as a shaping force of civil society. Although Puttenham aims primarily to elevate

⁹ William Samuel Howell, *Logic and Rhetoric in England* (1956), 327-9; Walter Ong, *Rhetoric Romance and Technology* (1971), 88-9; Brian Vickers, "'The Power of Persuasion'" (1982), 18-20; Heinrich F. Plett, "The Place and Function of Style in Renaissance Poetics" (1983), 356-375; Frank Whigham, *Ambition and Privilege* (1984), 28-9, *passim*; Brian Vickers, *In Defence of Rhetoric* (1988), 331-334; Neil Rhodes, *The Power of Eloquence* (1992), 5, 9-10; Wayne Rebhorn, *The Emperor of Men's Minds* (1995), 23-4, *passim*; Quentin Skinner, *Reason and Rhetoric* (1996), 89-93, *passim*; Thomas O. Sloane, *On the Contrary* (1996), 162-9. But see Peter Mack, *Elizabethan Rhetoric* (2002), 76-77. Mack makes the important point that Puttenham, like Peacham, should not be taken as normative of contemporary rhetorical practice on its own merits, given its single printing. Rather it serves as a measure of reception for certain rhetorical principles (namely, stylistic principles); essentially I use it in that vein, to study the reception of oratory in the Speaker's confirmation ceremony.

the estimation of poetry as a verbal art—especially as a vernacular, courtly art—his foundation for doing so rests firmly on the better accepted status of civic oratory. This is especially true in his third book, where Puttenham argues for the value of ornate language in state business as the primary vehicle for displaying social decorum.

Significantly, Puttenham's key examples for persuading Elizabethan courtiers of the worth of ornamented speech derive not from poetry, but rather from contemporary speeches. His premier example of such oratory, moreover, pertains to the Speaker's confirmation ceremony, for which he provides an anecdote about a Marian Speaker:

I remember in the first yeare of Queenes Maries raigne a Knight of Yorkshire was chosen speaker of the Parliament, a good gentlemen and wise, in the affaires of his shire, and not unlearned in the lawes of the Realme, but as well for some lack of his teeth, as for want of language nothing well spoken, which at that time and business was most behooffull for him to have been: this man after he had made his Oration to the Queene; which ye know is of course to be done at the first assembly of both houses; a bencher of the Temple both well learned and very eloquent, returning from the Parliament house asked another gentleman his friend how he liked M. Speakers Oration: mary quoth th'other, me thinks I heard not a better alehouse tale told this seven years. This happened because the good old Knight made no difference betweenne an Oration or publike speach to be delivered to th'eare of a Princes Maiestie and state of a Realme, then he would have done of an ordinary tale to be told at his table in the countrey, wherein all men know the oddes is very great. (115-6; bk. 3, ch. 2)

It is worth noting here that the comment on the Yorkshire Speaker's "lack of teeth" appears to be a literal observation on his inability to enunciate, and not a figurative reference to his lack of provocative material.¹⁰ Puttenham's attention to oratorical

¹⁰ The identity of this Speaker, which would seem to be quite straightforward, remains a mystery due to Puttenham's historical error: either a mistake in the year of the Parliament or a mistake in the constituency of the Speaker. The Speaker in the first year of Mary's reign was John Pollard of Oxfordshire. Perhaps Puttenham's Yorkshire speaker is Thomas Gargrave, the Speaker in the first year of Elizabeth's reign. Gargrave's identity

delivery over political causes accompanies his more general focus on stylistic "ornamentation": both are linked under the broader rubric of decorum by how well the behavior, physical and verbal, suits the occasion for utterance, especially those occasions thought to demonstrate some show of grand civil society.

While it would be easy to dismiss this attention to style and delivery as a shallow, deprecated version of classical rhetoric, one that lacks the teeth of invention, Puttenham's subsequent account of other occasions for oratory show that he sees the Speaker's disabling as no less an important form of speech than the classical decision-making genres of deliberative and judicial oratory. Immediately following the passage quoted above, Puttenham elaborates on his defense of ornamental speech, making it clear that its use pertains to the common exercise of civic voice among state officials and that it is not simply capricious decoration:

And though grave and wise counsellours in their consultations doe not use much superfluous eloquence, and also in their iudiciall hearings do much mislike all scholasticall rhetoricks: yet in such a case as it may be (and as this Parliament was) if the Lord Chancelour of England or the Archbishop of Canterbury himselfe were to speake, he ought to doe it cunningly and eloquently, which can not be without the use of figures: and neverthelesse none impeachment or blemish to the gravitie of their persons or of the cause: wherein I report me to the[m] that know Sir *Nicholas Bacon* Lord Keeper of the great Seale, or the now Lord Treasurer of England [William Cecil], and have bene conversant with their speaches made in the Parliament house & Starre chamber. From whose lippes I have seene to proceede more grave and naturall eloquence, then from all the Oratours of Oxford or Cambridge . . . (*ibid.*)

may be obscured intentionally to avoid offending living friends of the man, who died only ten years before publication. For a table of Marian and Elizabethan Speakers and dates see Dasent, 374-377. See also Gladys Doigde Willcock and Alice Walker, Introduction to *Arte of English Poesie* (1936), xxx. They do not suggest Gargrave, but only notice the historical inaccuracy of the reference. Their reference—Gregory Smith, *Elizabethan Critical Essays* (Oxford: 1904), 2:418-9n144 (not listed in my bibliography)—does mention Gargrave.

Here we have a list of some genuine "orator-civilizers" in Renaissance England, public officials whom Puttenham expects to use "eloquent" language in managing state affairs. The Lord Chancellor was often called the "mouth of the higher house of parliament" (Lambarde, *Archion* 56), just as the Speaker was called the "mouth of the commons"; the Archbishop of Canterbury was effectively the "mouth of the church."¹¹ To be effective government ministers, these leaders needed in their public speaking to reflect the "gravitie of their persons or of the cause," and not simply to revert to the plain communications of a bureaucratic taskmaster (which was often the true nature of the office), nor to the "superfluous" academic show of a "scholasticall" pedant (whose words, though often admired, held no direct civic import). The public display of official status by way of refined speech was in fact a desired effect in itself, and necessary for asserting order in a world wherein the masses were not constantly reminded of the faces of power by way of neatly captioned images and video sound-bites.¹²

The Speaker-elect's disabling speech, though it did not involve *debate* about classical civic issues, served nonetheless the civically significant purpose of

¹¹ There were other positions where an official took upon themselves to serve as "mouths" for a particular institution: the Recorder of Bristol, for example, calls himself, "this Cities worthlesse mouth," in the process of welcoming Queen Anne in 1613 (*Relation of the Royall Entertainement*). Compare Shakespeare's account of Jack Cade declaring, "my mouth shall be the parliament of England" (2 *Henry VI*, 4.7.15-16); Cade has by this scene already claimed the royal power his; here he usurps the political power as well. See also Lambert's speech on the body politic in the fourth chapter.

¹² One demonstration of this uncertainty of an individual's official identity appears in the 1571 Parliament, where, as John Hooker notes in his diary, "it semed that the Howse, [was] very full"; consequently, roll was taken of the burgesses (i.e. the country members); as a result two interlopers from the Inner Temple were discovered and arrested (*PiPE* 1:245; cf. D'Ewes 156). Recall also that Tudor Parliaments framed statutes to require dress according to "degree" (*PiPE* 1:454-456; cf. Neale 1:354).

ostentatiously reinforcing institutional relationships, which if "cunningly and eloquently" done, seemed palatable to prince and commons alike. Once we consider the official duties of the Speaker of the House in more detail, such expectations make more sense. The Speaker's main function was (as it is in the modern Parliament) to enforce the protocols of debate and legislation established by precedent within recorded institutional history. Fulfilling this function meant calling upon individuals to speak or be silent according to house rules, shepherding bills fairly through three stages of readings, and at times making clutch decisions about what the proper protocol should be (on occasions where precedent is unclear).¹³ And beyond the duties falling within the House, the Speaker often bore the responsibility of conveying messages back and forth between the monarch and the Commons. All these duties required *discretion*, the ability to decide quickly and act with proper judgment and due consideration of custom and civility. Such a quality, not coincidentally I think, was both called for in the monarch's commission to elect a speaker and listed as key ingredient in Puttenham's recipe for decorum, since good judgment was needed to temper ornamented language.¹⁴ Puttenham's recounting of the

¹³ The nomination speeches in the Commons give some idea of the perceived role of the Speaker. Stanhope in his nomination of John Croke states, "All men of discretion knowe that the speeche of a multitude breedeth confusion and dissention. It is therefore ffytte for us to chuse one to be our Speaker, which ffor his experyence maye speake, and ffor his sufficiencye dare, and can, speake in all our behalfes and affayers" (*PiPE* 3:300). In his nomination of Ranulph Crew, Ralph Winwood describes the Speaker more succinctly as "the pilot to guide this great ship" (*PiP-1614* 12). For a scholarly summary of the Speaker's duties see *PuT*, 46-49.

¹⁴ The most consistently called for quality for a Speaker appears to be *discretion*, and the second most *wisdom*. Bacon, for example, in 1563 directs the Commons to elect "a discreet, wise, and learned Man" (D'Ewes 61); Bacon in 1572, "some wise and discrete person" (*PiPE* 1:336); Thomas Egerton in 1597, "some grave, wise, and Learned man among you to be your Speaker, who shall be for an understanding sufficient, and for discretion fit, as your Mouth to signify your minds, and to make your

Yorkshire speaker, in fact, serves as his warning not "to use figurative speeches foolishly and indiscretely" (115; bk. 3, ch. 2), a useful cautionary tale for his otherwise distended discussion—over half the book—of "Ornament" in verbal expression.

But beyond showing discretion and decorum, the ironic performance may well provide an opportunity to show another quality emphasized in Renaissance theories of eloquence, one often accompanying irony. Modern scholars have shown in Puttenham and contemporary discussions of eloquent speech a propensity towards playfulness.¹⁵ Thomas Sloane's *On the Contrary* (1996), for instance, shows how "the protocol of humanist rhetoric" integrated humor and irony into the "serious" acts of disputation and suasion, transforming the one into an enlightening "game" and the other into a pleasantly open-ended conversation. In a similar vein, Richard Lanham, in his *Motives of Eloquence* (1976), suggests that there is an "oscillation" between seriousness and play in certain Renaissance writing that reflects a fundamentally rhetorical frame of mind.¹⁶

This oscillation between seriousness and play that we find copiously demonstrated in humanist dialogues and declamations, as well as in stage discourse, appears to have a place in the confirmation ceremony of the Speaker as well. Not only are

Petitions known to her Highness" (D'Ewes 525).

¹⁵ Besides Sloane and Lanham, which I discuss below, see Rhodes, *Power of Eloquence*, 144-151; and Skinner, *Rhetoric and Reason*, 198-211. Skinner especially, but to some extent Rhodes, emphasizes the role of humor in scorn, not in suasion, the focus of Sloan and Lanham, which appears more relevant to the type of humor used in the Speaker's disabling speech.

¹⁶ Lanham and Sloane explore these ideas throughout their books, so I will not try to isolate their recurrent discussion of play in Renaissance rhetorical theory and practice. Both are compelling in their explorations of the ludic and ironic modes in broader discursive exchanges. Sloane's argument for the "humanist protocol," which he identifies in authors from Cicero and Erasmus to Wilson and Puttenham, makes a strong case for reading humanist rhetoric as particularly interested in training the mind to be both more agile and more persuasive.

the speeches themselves performed with round irony, but the body of the speech, at least Onslow's, displays other playful qualities. Here we might reconsider the humorous reasoning behind Onslow's claim of inexpediency in his appointment. While it may be true that there were outstanding legal minds in the body of MPs, and even some who might present opaque arguments based on long forgotten laws (e.g., William Fleetwood), Onslow's conceit that the Queen's Solicitor, the monarch's chief legal council, would somehow be deficient in understanding these lawyers is itself an extension of the ironic play. So also is the generally hyperbolic lamentation of his feeble wit, which culminates with this *dénouement* of ironic reasoning: "Another Cause [of my inadequacy] is for want of substance to maintain this my Countenance"—which may be paraphrased as, "I should not be appointed to the office of Speaker, because I lack the very ability to sustain my arguments against such an appointment." This playfulness represents the flipside of official duty, which for some purposes was facilitated by a grave demeanor and others by good humor. When we recall that one of the Speaker's most challenging duties included refereeing controversial oratorical exchanges, one can see how having a sense of humor could sustain congeniality in debate that might easily turn unproductively antagonistic.

The disabling speech of the Speaker, then, provided an opportunity to display discretion and decorum in speech, as well as good humor, and perhaps thereby establish both a "grave" *and* "natural" demeanor for the better enforcement of house rules and demonstration of the monarch's trust. These oratorical tasks were not merely for pleasure—though the evocation of pleasure might play significantly in their success—rather, they were important for facilitating the discussion that followed. Consequently, these oratorical tasks were best carried out before Parliamentary business actually began

in the two separate houses—hence the pomp and circumstance of the Speaker's confirmation ceremony; hence the critique of the Yorkshire Speaker, who should have left his "countrey" grammar at the tavern, and spoken with the decorum and wit of a genuine civic leader.

III. Preambles to Parliaments: Ceremonial Oratory as Constitutional Speech-Act

Puttenham's treatment of oratory, besides offering a contemporary account of the rhetorical and social significance of the Speaker's disabling speech, provides also a useful articulation of how classical rhetorical principles, which were designed for free citizens to exercise free speech with social equals, were nonetheless seen as empowering for individuals standing on unequal platforms within the rigid social hierarchy of early modern England. Stylistic ornament helped orators display their civic status and thereby facilitated their performance of civic duties. The opening orations of Parliament appear to conform to Puttenham's concept of decorous rhetoric, a concept that scholars have repeatedly identified in contemporary writing and dramatic performance.

Without discounting this social function of these traditional rules for elocution, however, I would argue that Puttenham's emphasis on decorous speech does not capture the entire role that such ceremonial orations played within civil society in early modern England. As we shall see, such orations could be the cogs of state machinery, as well as the oil that makes it run smoothly. For those speeches delivered at the opening of Parliament, moreover, their chief civic efficacy arises out of ironic performance itself, which displays for (pseudo-)public view the fundamental principles holding together the commonwealth, a display without which Parliament would not proceed much further than

the ceremony itself.

Puttenham does seem to insinuate the greater civic significance of such "decorous" displays, though he focuses primarily on their value for self-fashioning. Puttenham, after chastising the Yorkshire Speaker, gradually leads us up the path toward more celebrated paradigms of classical oratory, those more commonly assessed as influential expressions of civic voice, as citizens actively affecting state machinery. He first shows the conscientiousness of contemporary speakers towards the principles of classical oratory, noting, "I have come to the Lord Keeper Sir *Nicholas Bacon*, & found him sitting in his gallery alone with the works of *Quintilian* before him, in deede he was a most eloquent man" (117; bk. 3, ch. 2). And this passage is followed by an invocation of a common Renaissance version of the "orator-civilizer," the Gallic Hercules, the popular emblem depicting the hero Hercules being pulled by a crowd whose ears are chained to his mouth (see introductory chapter). This is followed by a pointed reminder that "eloquence is of great force" (118; bk. 3, ch. 2). Finally, a chapter that begins by pointing to the Speaker's disabling speech as a typical occasion demanding eloquent utterance ends with a more classical depiction of civic speaking, that is, deliberative debate: "and so in all deliberations of importance, where counsellours are allowed freely to opyne & shew their co[n]ceits, good perswasion is no lesse requisite then speache it selfe: for in great purposes to speake and not to be able or likely to persuade, is a vayne thing" (118; bk. 3, ch. 2).

While our first impulse, knowing the irony of the Speaker's disabling and the general efforts of monarchs and theocrats to curb free speech, might be to think this another ironic statement, we should perhaps take the conditional "where counsellours are

allowed freely to opyne" at face value. We should moreover look more closely at Puttenham's presentation of various kinds of speaking in this chapter. His treatment of oratory here does not forcefully reconcile two opposing ideas of civic speech. It shows rather the logical order of oratorical performance in early modern culture. The more obligatory and customary set speeches of an English citizen's career served as preamble to oratory that might allow outspoken and influential expression on truly controversial issues. True, a common subject might never have the opportunity to deliver anything other than dutiful and decorous preambles in the course of state business—no doubt this focus on performance explains in part why such speeches were taken so seriously and often crafted quite deliberately. An eloquent orator, however, might find (or perhaps create) the opportunity to persuade others on "great matters," an opportunity Puttenham treats as too precious to pass without effect. No wonder, then, that many Renaissance writers, who were generally intimate with the details and nuances of classical politics and oratory, felt no reservations in comparing the English Parliament, a medieval, feudal institution, to the Greek Areopagus and the Roman Senate.¹⁷

In the next chapter I will take up the obvious questions that follow: *Did such preambles really allow open debate on public issues and, if so, what did that debate sound like, and what influence did it have on public policy or individual causes?* Here, however, we might meditate a bit longer on the opening exchange between the Speaker

¹⁷ Aside from those comparative statements listed at the beginning of my chapter, here are some other examples from Parliamentary speeches: In his disabling speech to the Commons (1597), Christopher Yelverton compares himself to Demosthenes (*PiPE* 3:228); George Ireland invokes Demosthenes in arguing for the execution of Mary Queen of Scots (*PiPE* 1:373; *EP* 1:263); Thomas Atkins invokes Scipio in the same debate (*PiPE* 1:377).

of the Commons and the Lord Chancellor as a distinct kind of oration, one that elevates the preamble from merely introductory to necessarily prefatory. Such speaking does not fit comfortably into the simple oppositional dialectic of the classical categories of *display* and *decision-making* oratory, since it requires elements of both kinds of speaking yet conforms to neither. This ambiguity is worth examining more closely.

Although the orations in the Speaker's confirmation ceremony are delivered in an ostensibly deliberative venue and even presented as a species of deliberative form (i.e., petition),¹⁸ they affect no real decision, no immediately contested issue. Onslow, like his predecessors and successors in the office of Speaker, is pre-selected. Likewise, Nicholas Bacon's response simply announces a decision made by the Queen and Privy Council before the Speaker-elect is even presented. Bacon has no new ideas to help address a debated moral or legal question, and he serves only as megaphone to announce what is essentially old news. And yet, though no new decisions about particular civic issues emerge, and though this speaking appears to be all for display only, these ceremonial utterances are given the greatest pomp of state, written about in at least one guide to eloquence, and recorded for posterity by audience and orator alike.¹⁹ Perhaps modern scholars were right to suggest that true deliberative oratory had faded away and all that

¹⁸ Though not really a classical deliberative form, petition, since the initial publication of Erasmus's *De Conscribendis Epistolis* and its expansion of the classical tripartite division of genre (see first chapter) had appeared under the deliberative category in manuals that refer to the tripartite division. See, for example, George Macropedius, *Methodus de Conscribendis Epistolis* (1543, 1580), 23^r; and Christopher Hegendorff, *Methodus Conscribendi Epistolas* (1534, 1580), 114^r.

¹⁹ In fact, our early examples we owe to private journal writers in Commons (e.g., Thomas Cromwell and Hayward Townshend) and the Speakers themselves (e.g., Christopher Yelverton and John Croke), who saw these formal orations worth recording even when the official recorders thought them to be merely *pro forma* notes—eventually the formal journals reflected the interest already held by many private individuals.

remained for civic eloquence were courtly displays of decorous flattery.

Before coming to that conclusion, however, we should note that these speeches do not take classically epideictic form either. True, the Speaker's disabling speech appears to be a show of stylistic skill—though not all Speakers felt obligated to demonstrate their abilities as fully as Onslow.²⁰ And, true, the classical recommendations for preambles often adhere to the strategies inherent in epideictic speaking, especially for establishing the speaker's *ethos* by way of grandiloquent speaking and a show of goodwill, in this case by acting with humility. Even so, the speeches themselves do not generally focus on a demonstration of virtue or vice in a particular individual (whether flatteringly depicted or not), as was commonly expected in epideictic.²¹ Both the Speaker's orations, rather, take the form of petitions, as we have noted. The Chancellor's speeches, along these lines, take the form of answers to petitions, the first being negative, the second positive. Neither of these forms (*petition* and *response*) is traditionally epideictic, whether considered from a classical or Renaissance perspective.

When we look at the details of Onslow's speech, moreover, we notice that, though he does mention the Queen's "many Vertues," he does not dwell on them, amplify them,

²⁰ Or at least not all of them spoke well enough with a capable recorder present to have their words noted as fully for posterity. In any case, the longest recorded disabling speech is that of Edward Phelips in James' first Parliament (1604).

²¹ The *Rhetorica ad Herennium* divides the topics of praise into three categories: external factors (*rerum externarum*), qualities of the body (*corporis*), and qualities of the mind (*animi*), 3.4.10. In general the goods of the mind (*bona animi*) were considered the most praiseworthy and consequently the most pertinent to epideictic. Aristotle, for comparison, divides his treatment of epideictic topics into those things honorable in their own right, that is, the virtues (1.9.3-13), and those things associated with virtue (1.9.14-25). For Renaissance conceptualizations of epideictic drawing from the classical rhetorical tradition, see O. B. Hardison, *The Enduring Monument* (1962) and McManamon, *Funeral Oratory and the Cultural Ideals of Italian Humanism* (1989).

or even identify them individually with any detail, as one would expect in the body of an epideictic oration. He instead spends most of his oration discussing either the power of the Commons to elect him, or alternatively the monarch's power to grant his petition of excuse, the latter (i.e., noting the petitioned person's power to grant it) being a common strategy recommended in epistolary manuals teaching petition.²² In the discussion of the Queen's powers, he makes legalistic arguments to "serveth [his] Case," as if Elizabeth were making a judicial decision at a trial. Given these details of Onslow's speech, it would seem that the main focus of this verbal *display* is not the character or quality of an individual (the *deigesis* in *epideixis*), but rather the *act of decision-making* itself, more specifically, the act of petition-based decision-making within a political monarchy, which is what Fortescue suggested to be the operative form of English government.

To consider these speeches "sheer pantomime" is to miss the point of the speech-acts themselves, which demonstrate in their very utterance some key principles of contemporary civic life, namely, the terms of engagement for public speaking. The Speaker's confirmation ceremony, in particular, allowed both sovereign and subject to display their adherence to accepted protocols of decision-making, protocols that reflect the traditional cooperation between popular and royal powers within the English state, protocols that were necessary for the genuine Parliamentary decision-making that took place after the opening ceremonies.²³

²² Hegendorff, *Methodus Conscribendi Epistolas*, 114^r.

²³ See D'Ewes examination of precedents to answer the question, "Whether the election be in [the Commons'] absolute choice?" D'Ewes's primary evidence supporting the Commons' ancient privilege to elect their own Speaker appears based on this ceremonial exchange. He notes, although past Speakers-elect have disabled themselves, "the King never rejected any, whom [the Commons] made choice of . . . whereby it

Onslow's arguments against his appointment, although their ostensible purpose was ironic, assiduously reiterate the ground rules of Parliamentary counsel. When Onslow notes Elizabeth's ability to heal the "wound" that the Commons had inflicted in electing him, he is invoking the principle of *royal prerogative*, which included the right of the sovereign to affirm or deny the Commons' choice of him or of any of the bills that were passed. Similarly, when Nicholas Bacon rebuts Onslow's excuses by noting that the choice of the Commons is to be respected, the Lord Keeper is officially recognizing the ancient *privileges* of the lower house to elect their own Speaker and make their own recommendations on the laws of the land. Thomas Egerton, Lord Chancellor Ellesmere under James I, summarizes these principles more straightforwardly:

In a parliament in England, three states, and in three degrees, are always to be specially regarded; and care to be taken, that no one encroach too far upon the other. I. The king is to have his regality and supreme prerogative and sovereignty inviolable preserved. 2. The nobles, prelates and lords to have their honor and dignity maintained. 3. The Commons to have their ancient liberties and privileges continued and kept without breach or prejudice. (*PiP-1610* 1: 276).²⁴

If these principles were reenacted each time a new Speaker was confirmed, it was not because they were forgotten by the participants (though perhaps new members benefited

appears plainly that, that the choice was absolutely in their own power" (41). The only exception is John Popham under Henry VI (perhaps an ancestor of Elizabeth's Speaker of the same name), who was excused for ill health (D'Ewes 42; Dasent 140, 364). On the consequences of disrupting the traditional irony of the set speeches, see more below.

²⁴ Egerton actually writes this summary of the English monarchical constitution while meditating on what he perceives to be encroachments on the first and second estates' powers by the third. His worries are expressed in the passage following the summary of basic principles quoted above: "1. If the first be extended and strained too high, it tends to tyranny. 2. If the second presume too much and challenge overgreat power and authority, it will aspire to aristocracy. 3. If the third be suffered to usurp and encroach too far upon the regality, it will not cease (if it be not stayed in time) until it break out into democracy." As I discuss below, the concerns about whether the founding principles are secure were not particular to the Lords.

from audio-visual demonstration), but rather because the principles themselves were legitimated by the oratorical performance itself. Acting them out was like signing a document, the social contract of the English constitution. The Speaker was the signatory for the Commons, and the Chancellor for the Lords and Queen.

It would be wrong, then, to assume that early modern orators and audiences necessarily weighed the seemingly "classical" debate (i.e., decision-making speech) described at the end of Puttenham's chapter (and presumably coming in the midst of the Parliamentary session itself) more civically significant than the ceremonial speech described at its beginning—which is the tendency among modern critics. Though Puttenham ultimately advocates the role of eloquence in effective counsel on particular issues, he places the ceremonial disabling speech ahead of debate as his primary example for demonstrating eloquent speaking. Debate, after all, indicated uncertainty and conflict in contemporary civil society, a society whose very form (i.e., monarchy) was justified by stability and security under royal power. Customary set speeches were not only preambles creating the leeway for potentially freeform debate, debate that might truly redirect the ship of state, but they also represented a sound overhaul of the keel and topmast of the ship itself, an overhaul that reminded all aboard of the bounds of safe harbor as well as potentially hazardous currents. The set speeches and the expectations associated with them help succeeding sessions of Parliament confirm and pass on the age-old protocols for counseling on state matters long established in this medieval institution. The set orations themselves, which evolved over time, may be viewed as a significant stabilizing force and consequently civically efficacious—or perhaps even "eloquent" when appropriately delivered.

This use of civic voice goes beyond stylistic decorum, the aspect emphasized by Puttenham. In fact, exquisite oratorical display within this closed audience, one composed of the cream of the English crop in both rank and education, would have little effect, positive or negative, on the state of the *civitas*. Given that the Commons were of the lowest estate, a Speaker's lack of decorum might just as well be excused as issuing forth from a commoner, as it would be likely to be celebrated as surprisingly eloquent when artfully delivered. The indecorous Yorkshire speaker was not, after all, disallowed from his position.²⁵ On the contrary, what most determined the civic significance of these ceremonial orations, what allowed state business to carry on in earnest (for better or worse), was the utterance of certain key principles expected to be voiced according to the customs of the civic institution itself. Not all the tropes in the garden of eloquence, nor any of the special topics outlined by Aristotle, would be able to redress the absence of either the Speaker's recognition of the royal prerogative or the monarch's politic acceptance of the Commons' chosen "mouth." Of course, the very reverence for tradition in the ceremonial orations means what we have little opportunity to test the "power of eloquence" in that regard. On the one occasion (1678) where the monarch (Charles II) actually tried to overrule the Commons' election, apparently after the outside royal influence had waned in the lower house, Parliament did indeed come to a complete halt.²⁶

²⁵ Nor did Henry VIII dismiss a Speaker-elect whom he ridiculed for indecorous use of hyperbole, according to another account of the Speaker's confirmation ceremony relayed to us by Puttenham (160; bk. 3, ch. 18).

²⁶ Charles II in 1678 refused to accept the Commons Speaker-elect, a member who was not his pre-selected functionary. In spite of the fact that Privy Councilors in Commons surely knew the king would reject this speaker, most members would have been shocked if the ironic oration of excuse were not taken ironically—such an act shows a breach of contract, and a neglect of civic duty. Charles, rather than upend the most

The two ending speeches of the confirmation ceremony, the Speaker's petition for privileges and the Chancellor's response, were delivered in like tenor, albeit with somewhat less rigidity in form and content. The customary elements that were expected in order to produce a politic conclusion to the ceremony (again, so that state business could carry on civilly) included a standard set of requests for privileges and a congenial, if cautious, affirmation for those privileges—a formula not unlike the previous two speeches, albeit without the irony. Often the requests were preceded by a brief statement of what the Commons would like done in the session (an informal petition in itself) or by an acknowledgment of the current challenges to the commonwealth. The end, however, always included direct requests for specific privileges.

The list of requests appears to have varied, although modern scholars do not agree on how much.²⁷ The Speaker, as recorded in the Lords' Journal, seems always to ask for free access to the monarch and to absolve himself of wrongdoing should he unknowingly misrepresent a message passed between crown and Commons. Two other privileges, however, appear often enough that contemporary Parliamentarians thought them standard, and consequently so have some modern historians, though the record is inconsistent. The requests for freedom from arrests while Parliament was standing and

fundamental constitutional principles by refusing to accept the choice of the Commons, dissolved the Parliament he had just summoned. He immediately summoned a new Parliament, in which his desired Speaker was again not elected. On that occasion, however, he conceded to the political power, accepting the Commons' choice, rather than risk the likely conflagrations arising out of a breached constitution. At least, this is how I interpret Dasent's presentation of the event, 226-227.

²⁷ See D'Ewes, 42-43. D'Ewes ascribes to Thomas Moyle (1533) the first request for free speech in Commons, not Thomas More (1523), who is named by Neale (*EP* 1: 7). D'Ewes insists that the rights existed before it was recorded as appearing in the petition speech. Dasent claims that James Pickering (14th century) is on record "asserting the right of free speech" in 1378, albeit not necessarily as part of a formal petition speech (54).

freedom of speech in Commons debates, especially the latter, were the more controversial petitions put forth. Nonetheless we see these petitions affirmed by the Lord Chancellor, albeit with more or less qualification.²⁸

Though the ceremonial, predetermined forms of this petition and its response may once again appear to moot its genuine significance, for the fact that they are predetermined, the importance of this traditional verbal exchange can be seen more clearly on the many occasions where various parties venture more dangerous waters in Parliamentary proceedings. Members of all three estates at one time or another test the limits of the principles of counsel established at the outset. Elizabeth, for example, sent various messages to the Commons to refrain from discussing religion or her ever impending marriage.²⁹ The Lords, which included the bishops, likewise sent messages to the lower house not to encroach upon their special jurisdiction over religion. These messages not only display the claims to prerogative from the higher estates, but also

²⁸ Elizabeth, for example, stipulated a frequent injunction not to discuss religious matters, because those were reserved for her to decide, being head of the English church. Such a qualified response at once affirms the monarch's royal power (i.e., the Queen's prerogative on religious issues), yet concedes as well the basic right of free debate, thereby acknowledging the politic power derived from the Commons. Here we see a potential escalation of controversy (i.e., regarding who can make laws relating to religion) contained *for the moment* within the customary limits of these ceremonial orations, whose main function after all was to maintain the constitutional conciliatory bases of the English Parliament already affirmed by the first two speeches.

²⁹ See for example William Fitzwilliam's account in 1584 of Bromley's response to Puckering's petition speech. Fitzwilliam records as significant the fact that Elizabeth "restrained the cause of religion to be spoken of amonge them," and then remarks, "It was thought verye straunge that the Nether House should be restrayned in anie matter, but especiallie to speake or move that which . . . heretofore had his beginninge *vearie often* from that place" (*PiPE* 2: 129). Fitzwilliam goes on to list precedents since Henry VIII wherein the Commons initiated bills of religious nature. Neale suggests that the precedent of the Commons taking a more vocal role in religious matters begins with Henry VIII and his need to have their support to succeed in the Reformation Parliament (*EP* 1:20)

represent the greatest tests of those privileges of the Commons.

For instance, these attempts to squelch free speech prompted Peter Wentworth's 1576 oration (*EP* 1:318-332). Wentworth's speech itself begins by invoking the privilege of free speech; in his Star Chamber hearing, where he demanded that his speech be fully entered in the record, he claims that he was provoked to defend the principle on account of attempts of the Lords to suppress debate in the Commons during the previous session (*EP* 1:322). In later Elizabethan and Stuart Parliaments constitutional matters were both more numerous and ultimately, at least on the part of the Commons, considered more a part of routine business. The protection of their privileges became proactive (rather than reactive) once a standing committee on privileges became a regular formation at the beginning of each session.³⁰

Given the repeated references to the principles invoked in the Speaker's confirmation ceremony, the speeches would seem to demand a genuine demonstration of civic engagement, even if the issues raised were not debated on that occasion or even determined by the speakers themselves. The Speaker's oratorical performance, in

³⁰ Mary Frear Keeler, "The Emergence of Standing Committees" (1983). For accounts of the committee's formation in Stuart Parliaments see also the following: In the third session of James's first Parliament (1606-1607), at the direction of Edwin Sandys, the Commons forms a "committee on privileges," whose function was "every Saturday" to "peruse" and "perfect" the records assembled by the Clerk of Commons (Bowyer 367). A subcommittee of this committee would further "observe whereabouts and which weare matters concerning priviledge," a task which "maie be well performed by 4 or 3" (364). Though the session of Parliament was prorogued soon after the establishment of this committee, we see that one of the first items of business in the fourth session of the same Parliament (1610) was to hear a report from the Committee on Privileges (*PiP-1610* 2:6), during which potentially improper arrests are mentioned. And one of the first actions taken by the second Parliament of James I (1614), commonly referred to as the "Addled Parliament," was to reconstitute the Committee on Privileges (*PiP-1614* 33, 41). The same action is taken in Charles's first Parliament (*PiP-1626*, 2:7).

particular, was under close scrutiny, not simply by the Crown and Lord Chancellor, who both enabled his appointment and granted his petitions, but also by the MPs in the House of Commons, the body of citizens the Speaker ostensibly represented—no matter that the Privy Council generally usurped the electoral process. In the disabling speech, first of all, the Speaker could choose to be more or less dismissive of the Commons who elected him, or more or less reverent of the monarch's prerogative. The same variations of expression also offered themselves to the Chancellor in his response, though he would generally emphasize a reverence for the Commons' choice. In the petition speech, the Speaker had somewhat greater degrees of expressive freedom, especially if he decided to present a long preamble to his petitions. The request for privileges, however, was the most important part of this oration, especially for those in the House of Commons who wanted to protect their constitutional status. A half-hearted presentation of petitions might appear overly subservient, just as a monarch's refusal or binding qualification in accepting those petitions would seem oppressive.

But while the various speeches delivered on the occasion might be scrutinized for how they portrayed the three estates, whether with open flattery or subtle slighting, they were most carefully analyzed for how they conformed to precedents of the institution. One of the main methods the committees on privileges used to assess violations of traditional rights was to look at precedents from previous Parliaments. Consequently, the speeches themselves and their relationship to subsequent proceedings had the potential to change the institution as a whole, depending upon the details of the speeches delivered. Neale, for instance, has argued that Thomas More's petition for free speech under Henry VIII set the mold for subsequent petitions for free speech. Significantly, though More

makes a case for why free speech is important in the Commons, later Speakers appear to accept his precedent as reason enough. The routine of reenacting precedents, consequently, represented a powerful, if not particularly inventive, exercise of civic voice, a form of expression like latter day claims to rights already defined by law or commonplace assertions of shared cultural values (as in a pledge).

IV. The Rhetoric of Set Speeches: Onslow's Orations Reconsidered

Now that we have a fuller understanding of the orations within the Speaker's confirmation ceremony and of their significance (in principle and performance) to the subsequent parliamentary proceedings—not just *for the present*, but also *as precedent* for subsequent sessions—we can now further analyze Onslow's case with a significantly improved understanding of the ceremonial influences on the rhetorical situation. As for Onslow's participation in this ceremony and his versions of these set speeches, we should further recognize the peculiar situation that brought Onslow to the Commons in 1566. Onslow's case, apparently, serves as a novel precedent in itself.

As I noted above, the 1566 session was a continuation of the 1563 Parliament and not therefore a standard occasion for electing a new Speaker. The Commons were faced with an unfamiliar event: the death of a sitting Speaker between sessions. When they assembled on 30 September, 1566, they realized their lack of a master of ceremonies and accordingly consulted the Lords on what to do. Queen Elizabeth, with the prompting of the Lords, issued the next day a commission to elect a new Speaker of the Commons, a procedure recounted by Onslow himself at the beginning of his oration. That procedure was to be considered the determining precedent for the next occasion when a sitting

Speaker died in between sessions of the same Parliament, a situation that occurred soon after in 1581, when John Popham was elected according to the same procedure, after Robert Bell, the sitting Speaker, had been announced dead (*PiPE* 1:524).

Onslow's election, however, is more complicated than it first appears.³¹ After all, Onslow was summoned to the 1566 Parliament as an assistant to the House of Lords, a role regularly assigned to the Queen's Solicitor General (*PuT* 20). It was during the nomination meeting in the Commons that the Comptroller of the Queen's Household, Sir Edward Rogers, suggested that Onslow, who in 1563 served as MP for Steyning, be called back to the lower house to serve as Speaker. A message was sent to the House of Lords from the Privy Councilors asking that Onslow come to the lower house to explain why he should not be returned. Upon arriving, Onslow graciously excused himself because he was then the Queen's Solicitor and had been called for consultation in the House of Lords on her behalf. This excuse was refused by the Privy Councilors moving the nomination, and Onslow was officially put forth for the Speaker's position and encouraged to give the traditional disabling speech to the Commons. In that speech he again protested that his oath to the Queen as her Solicitor General perhaps precluded his sitting in the Speaker's chair.

Then another rare occurrence: there was dissent on the nomination. On a "division" (i.e. poll) of the House, Onslow won the election 82 to 70. The close race did not faze his supporters who quickly led him down to the front of the House, gave him the mace of office, and the next day brought him before the Queen. There, as we know, he once again mentions his role as Queen's Solicitor, only to have his excuse denied once

³¹ My account is based on *CJ*, 1 Oct. 1566; *EP* 1:134-135.

and for all, and subsequently to be assigned the role of Speaker in the 1566 session.

A number of intriguing questions are raised by Onslow's case when we reconcile his personal condition with the rhetorical situation inherent in the Speaker's confirmation ceremony. First we might wonder whether Onslow's excuses in his disabling speech before the Queen were perhaps more sincere than tradition would grant. The "disabling" speech is considered, after all, a vestigial sign of the original stress placed upon the Speaker in delivering bad news to the monarch.³² Yet by Elizabethan times, once the choice was considered predetermined by the Privy Council, the office instead served as a means to further advancement. Not a few Speakers were ultimately raised to Chief Justice, and two (John Puckering and John Finch) were raised to Lord Keeper during the Elizabethan, Jacobean, and Caroline periods. For Onslow, however, it could easily be considered a step back in his progress heretofore. His original objection that he was the Queen's Solicitor, an objection uttered prior to the traditionally ironic set speeches, may easily be interpreted as reflecting his own chagrin at being called back to the Commons, where he had already done his time. Unfortunately, though he appears to have a genuine "wound" done to him, there was no means to make the ironic "disabling" speech anything but ironically.³³

³² D'Ewes says in his notes on Elizabeth's first Parliament, as introduction to Parliamentary form, "*Nota*, That the excuse of the Speaker is at this day [1630] merely formal, and not out of modesty. . . . But antiently, it seemeth they were both hearty and real, or else no excuse was made" (41-42). D'Ewes goes on to list precedents from the Parliament Rolls beginning with Richard II. That D'Ewes's label of "merely formality" refers to the irony and not the constitutional import of the exchange can be argued from his use of the confirmation ceremony as evidence that the election of the Speaker was technically the Commons' right (see note above).

³³ To add insult to injury, we can note that Onslow would be one of only four Speakers of the House of Commons during this period not to be promoted significantly

Onslow appears to be in a tough rhetorical position then: on one hand he has uncertain favor at court, being called back to the lower House from his more respected duty of Queen's Solicitor and advisor to the Lords; on the other hand, he has many dissenters in the Commons, as demonstrated by his narrow electoral victory in a vote that was typically unanimous. While it is clear that Onslow must sail the narrows between royal and political powers, what might go unnoticed are the simultaneously conflicting pressures of his professional obligations: on one hand he owes loyalty to his legal client, the Queen, a point he repeatedly mentions; on the other hand, he operates by the Common Law and therefore owes respect to the primary voice in framing the law, that is, the House of Commons. Given that both these potential constituencies appear somewhat unsympathetic (and more and more so as the session continues), and given that Onslow himself appears ambivalent in taking on the role of "Mouth of the Commons," the true rhetorical tenor of his speeches (traditional ironic performances aside) is hard to decipher.

Not surprisingly, historians have unevenly acknowledged these contra-posed factors in examining Onslow's condition, presenting in turn contradictory interpretations of Onslow's political leanings. T. E. Hartley reads Onslow's set speeches at the beginning and end of session as evidence, "There is no doubt that Onslow was a Queen's man" (*PiPE* 1:119). Neale even more certifiably claims, "Truly, this man spoke as the mouth of the House of Commons rather than the Queen's Solicitor General" (*EP* 1:173).³⁴ These

after serving. Dasent has a useful table of Speakers of the House of Commons, including election dates, constituencies, and subsequent appointments (378-384). Only Onslow, Thomas Snagge (1593), Thomas Crewe (1624, 1625), and Heneage Finch (1626) appear not to have found higher appointment after their terms as Speaker.

³⁴ Neale makes this statement in discussing Onslow's closing oration in Parliament, but he does not represent that speech as out of character with Onslow's

contradictory conclusions about Onslow's oratorical persona and motivations behind his expression of civic voice are drawn from what little we know about Onslow's personal situation and, even more, from the general political issues surrounding his rhetorical situation. In fact, our information about the latter, the politics behind Onslow's rhetorical situation, vastly surpasses what is available about Onslow the man. We can be certain, moreover, that many of the contested issues involved potential conflicts between royal and political powers, wherein the Speaker of the Commons, whoever he was, would be placed in compromising positions.

As we know from the previous chapter, two contests that carried over from the earlier sessions, indeed from Elizabeth's first Parliament (1559), concerned her unmarried state and unwillingness to declare a successor—that is, a Protestant successor suitable to her Protestant subjects. Elizabeth resolved neither issue. More to the point, however, Elizabeth vehemently insisted that her subjects were to cease petitioning her on these matters, because such petitions “touched on her prerogative.” The consequences of this contest between royal prerogative and politic acquiescence we will follow up in the next two chapters. For now we simply need recognize that Onslow's orations, and consequently the historical interpretation of the man himself, have been pulled one way or another in an attempt to isolate his political leanings as part of this perceived dualistic political struggle with little regard for the bipolar nature of the speeches themselves—

opening oration—probably for reasons that I will soon address. Hartley does qualify his bold assertion that Onslow is a “Queen's man” by noting some of the same points as Neale, that “he was no apostle of absolute monarchy.” As I will argue subsequently, Hartley's claim on Onslow's political leanings are not warranted by the speeches in any case, given that utterances used to prove these leanings are based on customary practice and not on Onslow's own personalization of custom.

speeches that had by Onslow's time been cultivated to orchestrate a more or less stable, though frequently tense, interaction between sovereign and Parliament.

To assess Onslow's rhetorical performance properly we must first measure it according to the tradition of set speeches he follows and continues. In doing so, we can quite readily determine that if Onslow were indeed a "Queen's man," this assessment cannot be drawn from the disabling speech itself. For, while Onslow's speech appears to be one of the longer disabling speeches, it does not surpass all our recorded examples (see Edward Phelips, for example, 1604), nor does his amplification really tend towards exaltation of Elizabeth herself. Rather, he follows the standard course of dressing up an acknowledgement of the royal prerogative with some figurative or otherwise adorned phrasing. Where Onslow chooses an image fancying the sovereign as a "true physician," other speakers have chosen alternate vehicles:

[T]his their nomination is only as yet a Nomination and no Election, until your Majesty giveth Allowance and Approbation. for as in the Heavens a Star is but *opacum Corpus* until it have received light from the Sun, so stand I *Corpus opacum*, a Mute Body, until your Highness bright shining Wisdom hath looked upon me and allowed me.

– Edward Coke (D'Ewes 459, 22 Feb. 1593)

The personal Attendance of all [Commons] Members Your Majesty, by Your Prerogative Royal, hath now commanded; and accordingly Your dutiful and loyal Subjects, the Knights and Burgesses of the Lower House, have therein presented themselves, and, answerable to the ancient Privilege of that Place, and Your gracious Liberty and Favour to them vouchsafed, the better thereby to avoid the Inconvenience of Parity, the Mother of Confusion, and Enemy to Unity, have nominated my worthless Self their unworthy Speaker; wherein although their Affections and Loves (the Abuses of true Opinion and Judgment) have in this misguided their former known and approved Wisdoms; yet it resteth in Your Regal Power, either to breathe Life, or pronounce Death to this their yet unwarranted Nomination.

– Edward Phelips (*CJ*, 22 March 1604)

As they do in presenting their own disabilities, the Speakers trope constitutional principle. Onslow's figure of the physician and one-note hyperbole about his inability to understand Elizabeth's eloquent speech does not appear out of line with his fellow Speakers, nor does it measure up to the flattery and genuine praise we witness in clearly epideictic discourse from the period, such as appears in letters of dedication, funereal elegies, or speeches honoring prestigious visitors.³⁵

Indeed, Onslow's reasoning for how it would be legally feasible for the Queen to overrule his appointment is almost too technically accurate to be considered respectful of the Queen's person. Surely a true acquiescence to royal power, or even a symbolic one, would scorn such reasoning. In any case, we can only consider the moves of decorum in the speech as signs of his devotion to the Queen in the same way we can consider an obligatory catechism to be a reliable sign of genuine faith—in both the repeating of set principles shows acceptance of the *status quo* more than unqualified fealty.

Along those lines, Onslow's use of textbook deliberative form might be read as his homage to the *status quo*. True, such an adherence to classical form may be simply for good humor, an ironic nod to school exercises for the bemusement of those who had been drilled in them all too well. But here we might make more use of our knowledge of

³⁵ See for example *A True Copies of all the Latine Orations, Made and Pronounced at Cambridge* (1623), where the Spanish ambassadors are lauded in ornate, effusive Latin. See also George Whetstone's memorial poems for Justice Dyer and other prestigious members of Elizabeth's court (cf. *EEBO*'s listings for Whetstone). Whetstone provides good English examples of the funeral epideictic discussed in McManamon, *Funeral Oratory and the Cultural Ideals of Italian Humanism*. For an address to Queen in ceremonial proceedings, see the speech recorded as delivered by the Recorder of Bristol to Queen Anne in 1613; see *A Relation of the Royall, Magnificent, and Sumptuous Entertainment* (1613); the author of this account, Robert Naile, may have edited the original speech, since his account is in verse (or he may have actually prepared the Recorder's speech; verse was common in such pageant speeches).

the customary nature of the oration. Delivering the traditional orations in the ceremony, as I suggested above, was like signing a constitutional document acknowledging the customary privileges and prerogatives. Perhaps, then, we might read Onslow's assiduous use of classical deliberative form here, where it has no traditional decision-making function, as the equivalent of his *John Hancock*, an amplified gesture of affirmation, for Onslow's part, of the traditional contract among the three estates of Parliament.³⁶ In a different context under a different tradition of speaking, topics of classical deliberative *invention* may serve more as methods for embellished *delivery* than as arguments for a particular course of action. In this case, they move the audience first and foremost to revere as genuine the constitutional arrangement enacted before them.

Under this interpretation, it becomes difficult to read Onslow as either Queen's or Commons' man. Rather, he appears to be upholding the traditional division of power in English Parliament, performing on behalf of the Commons the dutiful gesture of giving the sovereign final say on all matters, all the while assuming that Elizabeth will uphold her end of the bargain. Of course, some would argue that such an affirmation of traditional Parliamentary custom reflects in itself an allegiance to the Commons, which as we saw in Fortescue's *De Laudibus* found its power solely in Parliament. I would argue, however, that such a conclusion simplifies the concept of constitutional monarchy and dismisses the consistent evidence we have that all Speakers-elect, including those who would eventually take high ranking ministerial positions, acted out this agreement with

³⁶ Onslow's earnest enactment of the constitutional principles might be compared with Edward Phelps's amplified verbal exposition of these matters. Phelps, speaking in James I's first Parliament, appears to be schooling the new sovereign from Scotland on the basics of English Parliamentary custom, including the requirement of mutual assent of all three estates (*CJ* 22 Mar. 1604)

greater or lesser ornament, but not without agreeing to the key terms of convention.

If there is evidence in Onslow's disabling speech that he leaned towards the Commons, it must be found, then, in the parts of his oration that swerve significantly from traditional form, that differ from the simple repetition of precedents. In those differences, I would argue, there may indeed be something to warrant Onslow's allegiance to the Commons. Unfortunately, as with the whole ironic tradition, conclusions are elusive and the very situation is complicated by a mixture of custom and novelty.

As we have noted above, Onslow's election was itself unprecedented, both for its exigency (the death of a sitting Speaker) and its procedure (calling an MP back from the House of Lords to lead the Commons). The irregularities were moreover protested in a rare abundance of dissenting voices. Though the Privy Councilors who moved his election appear willfully oblivious to such irregularities, Onslow seems to go to great efforts to make the untraditional transparent. Indeed, the fact that his original objection (presumably sincere, being uttered outside the ceremonial contexts) reappears in the two ironic ceremonially speeches (in Commons and before the Queen) might indicate his genuine belief that serving as Queen's Solicitor was a legitimate excuse. Neale, basing his reading on those actions, offers the playfully inconclusive observation that "perhaps what he said three times was true!" (1:135)—an observation Thomas Sloane might readily praise as a peculiarly humanist (i.e., playful and inconclusive) historical claim.

While I have already offered possible personal motivation for Onslow's excuse, perhaps we should also acknowledge that he may be putting forth a genuine constitutional objection to calling the Queen's Solicitor back to be Speaker of the House of Commons. He was, after all, a practitioner of the Common Law, so he might

reasonably have wanted to protect the foundations of his professional calling, not to mention the voice of the common subjects. Significantly, no other Speaker-elect presented the excuse that being one of “[her] Majesties Officers” constituted a disqualifying factor, though other royal servants after Onslow would be nominated and succeed to the chair.³⁷

The unique feature of Onslow’s disabling speech, however, is his rather full explanation of the feasibility of his excusatory petition, that is, of the Queen’s legal right to overrule his own particular appointment, something that a sovereign would typically be averse to doing for fear of shaking the constitutional grounds of Parliament. As we have already seen, the ostensible feasibility of the sovereign’s denial of the Commons’ election rests in the royal prerogative itself—a principle raised unquestioningly in other disabling speeches, albeit with adornment to make it appear more sublime. Onslow goes a step further, giving a legal explanation for why the Queen might see this particular instance as peculiarly appropriate for her to employ that power in earnest and without prejudice to the Commons.

Significantly, Onslow does not list for his case legal precedents those that suggest that Elizabeth has royal power absolute: he only mentions those cases where one royal action prevents another, specifically, where one official crown appointment or commission conflicts with another. Onslow is pointing the way towards a more politic alternative to the impending course of action (his own confirmation), which had already

³⁷ Popham in 1580, for example, does not mention his role as Queen’s Solicitor General; nor does Coke in 1593. Note that by Coke’s time, the Solicitor General seems not to have been called up to the Lords, for Coke was in Commons when nominated. This later maintenance of the Solicitor in the Commons may in fact result from the objections of calling him from the Lords in early sessions—a compromise perhaps?

received strong dissent in Commons, dissent which no doubt the Queen knew about.³⁸ Had she refused it, the Queen's action on Onslow's special case might reasonably have been considered an acceptable new precedent for a particular kind of situation, and therefore unthreatening to the standard operating procedure—and more importantly respectful of the Commons' rights, who assumed their leader to be a person not already sworn to the crown's agenda, even if favored as a friend to the crown.³⁹

Of course, Onslow's constitutional provisions work only under the assumption that the Privy Council and the Queen were not rather taking advantage of the novelty of the situation to create a new precedent technically (rather than politically) favorable to the crown.⁴⁰ As we know, Elizabeth's *denial* of Onslow's excuse set the new standard. In fact, the next time the Commons needed a new Speaker elected in the middle, the case of John Popham noted above, he was the sitting Solicitor General for the Queen, and he too was called back from the Lords to the nether house. Although some in 1580 thought it

³⁸ Recall that Peter Wentworth's famous 1576 speech inveighs against "rumour that runneth about the [Commons] Howse" and messages "either of commandinge or inhibiting." Wentworth connects the outside commands with the rumors, which together are "very injurious unto freedome of speech and consultacion" (*PiPE* 1:426-427). For more on the perceived permeability of the Commons chamber and the desire for enclosed debates, see Mr. Lambert's speech in the fourth chapter.

³⁹ Note that, though the Speaker was typically nominated by the Privy Council and often the recipient of court favors after serving, the Speaker was also someone who was not deeply entrenched in the royal household. Such a choice represents the "politic" considerations often used to select a suitable Speaker, and show as well the irregularity of choosing Onslow. Interestingly, it is a descendent of Onslow's, Arthur Onslow (elected 1728), who ultimately establishes the precedent for the modern Parliament's disinterested Speaker, an MP who willingly gives up all conflicting government posts in order to serve as un-entailed, long-term moderator of the House. See Dasent, 258-259; *HPW*, 20.

⁴⁰ I have not seen explained the reasoning for why this exceptional recall of a Queen's servant was allowed. Presumably, however, the crown could argue that the summons for Onslow to appear in the House of Lords was issued before it was realized that Thomas Williams had died.

"not to be . . . orderly" to look to the Lords on the matter, the Privy Councilor's moving Popham's election ultimately established their case by citing the precedent set in 1566 (*CJ* 18 Jan. 1580). This citation of precedent appears to have silenced objections: When the vote was taken, Thomas Cromwell notes in his journal that Popham was "aproved by some . . . voices, the rest saying nothing was taken for consent" (*PiPE* 1:545); this tepid acquiescence to precedent appears something between the contested election of Onslow and the typical approbation of "the whole house" (*PiPE* 1:337).⁴¹

In Onslow's case we can see the various pulls of the royal and political powers in even the most rote speeches of Parliament. On the surface, historians have tended to look at these set speeches merely as opportunities for flattery, only on rare occasion something of note, for example, More's extended petition for free speech. But while the traditional acknowledgement of the royal prerogative is presented in a decorous manner, we should not rule out the possibility that the Speaker-elect had equal concerns about the distribution of political power, especially since he would be caught in the middle and called upon to face the Commons every day of Parliament. Consequently, we might read Onslow's extended discussion of the Queen's ability to overturn his appointment as something more than "pedantic sophistry," an extended gesture ceremoniously designed to ornament his acknowledgement of the Queen's prerogative. Perhaps Onslow is doing his duty for the Commons by presenting within the public oration a way for the Queen to use her prerogative to overrule legitimately the election of the Commons, which was only

⁴¹ Neale glosses the nomination of Popham by Francis Knollys as "following with surprising slavishness the precedent of 1566" (*EP* 1:376). Neale does not acknowledge that the 1566 precedent may have been established to give the Queen's counselors even greater power in Commons.

assented to by a small margin. Such a statement may appear a rarefied and peculiar demonstration of civic voice, but it is one that nonetheless shows the broad scope by which oratorical performance, even in small, routine utterances, could serve the state or a particular constituency.

Unfortunately for Onslow, not only have the historians written off as pantomime his speech for the commonwealth, but his Parliamentary successors appear also to have ignored the unique qualities of his disabling speech. In fact, Onslow's successors pay much more attention to his petition speech, wherein he does not seem to have been up to traditional form. Simonds D'Ewes's critique of Richard Onslow's petition for privileges offers a vivid demonstration of the scrutiny placed on these speeches and on the perceived importance of every detail. Unlike his disabling speech, Onslow's petition speech was rather abrupt. Not only did he offer no extended commentary on the Commons' desires or the Queen's agenda, but he also omitted the two requests for privileges pertaining to the whole house (free speech and freedom from arrests). This breach of protocol prompted D'Ewes to write an extended procedural note on the incident:

Nota, That the Passages this Afternoon, containing in them the manner of the Presentment and Allowance of the Speaker, were in part transcribed out of the Original Journal-Book of the House of Commons, and in part out of a certain Anonymous Memorial I had by me, containing the foresaid matters at large; in both which, it doth appear directly, that the said *Richard Onslow* Esq; her Majesties Sollicitor General, now Speaker of the said House, did contrary to all former and latter Presidents, only Petition her Majesty in behalf of the House, for free access; and did very ignorantly omit, or carelessly forget to mention those two other antient and undoubted Priviledges of the same House; *viz.* Liberty of Speech, and Freedom from Arrests for themselves and Followers; or else perhaps he thought and conceived, that those said rights of the House were so evident and unquestionable, as they need no further Confirmation. (121-122)

Notice how D'Ewes assesses the oration as "ignorant" and "careless" not because it lacked amplification and ornament (features of eloquent speech lauded by Puttenham), or even suitable persuasive arguments, but rather because it failed to include even in rote form two requests established by tradition to be key elements of this particular oration. D'Ewes does allow that Onslow may have presumed the principles superfluous, and so made a rhetorical choice not to state the obvious. In D'Ewes judgment, however, the only conciliating factor is that Onslow's omission did not appear to alter change the preexisting Parliamentary arrangement:

And doubtless, whatsoever the said Mr *Onslow* conceived, yet the Event at this Session of Parliament, notwithstanding his omission, made it most clear, for those two great businesses of her Majesties Marriage, and declaring a Successor, coming into agitation at this time, Mr *Mounson*, Mr *Bell*, Mr *Paul Wentworth*, and others used so great Liberty of Speech, as (I conceive) was never used in any Parliament, or Session of Parliament before, or since. Nor were they any less zealous to maintain and preserve that their other priviledge of freedom from Arrests (omitted likewise by the said Mr *Onslow*) when occasion was offered, than at any other time.

D'Ewes prefers to dwell on the fact that in the proceedings that followed Commons members nonetheless exercised their privileges. He might have noted, in fact, that Paul Wentworth and others, in the midst of the Commons' proceedings, explicitly questioned whether their right to free speech was being violated, thereby reminding everyone of the constitutional principles that the Speaker should have more explicitly stated from the outset.⁴²

⁴² For Paul Wentworth's remarks see *PiPE* 154; note that Elizabeth I, *Works*, 100 also prints Wentworth's speech, albeit wrongly ascribed to Peter, who was not in this Parliament, but who would defend the privilege most vehemently in 1576. For others protecting the privilege in 1566, see *EP* 1:151-153 and the subsequent chapter.

Even from D'Ewes later historical perspective (ca. 1630),⁴³ after the protection of privileges had become institutionalized in standing committees within the House of Commons, he finds Onslow's omission reprehensible. Thus the rote claim of rights in the Speaker's confirmation ceremony appears to have been important in itself, no doubt because it forced the sovereign to give a public affirmation of the privileges before all three estates. (For a discussion of how this affirmation becomes referenced in the proceedings of debates, see the next chapter.) Onslow, consequently, failed in his second speech on the occasion to force that affirmation. While not a fatal disruption of Parliament's politic power, true "Commons men" might view this lack of form as a breach of duty, perhaps believing their Speaker a "Queen's man" after all.⁴⁴

V. Custom and the Classical Canons in Analyzing Oratorical Practice

One commonly cited anecdote from the history of rhetoric tells of the occasion when Demosthenes was asked what he believed to be the most important aspect of oratory: "delivery," he answered; asked what fell in the second place, he replied again, "delivery"; asked what was third, "delivery." This anecdote has been cited since Cicero to remind young orators to take care in completing the final step in public speaking: what good are the invention, arrangement, and style of an oration, if not pronounced with equal

⁴³ D'Ewes reveals the dates of his compilation and editing work twice that I have found. The date 1630 ("this present Year") appears where he notes his debt to Elsynge's *Modus Tenendi Parliamentum apud Anglos*, which appears where D'Ewes begins recounting the precedents for electing the Speaker of the Commons, 40. D'Ewes later in the text lists "this present Year" as 1629 (522). It was not published until 1682 and 1693.

⁴⁴ The assessment would perhaps be premature without analyzing Onslow's later speech at the end of Parliament (*PiPE* 1:168-171). Neale's reading of him as a Commons man seems to derive from that oration mostly, but I have tried to show that the opening speech may well reflect that disposition, albeit perhaps too subtly to be convincing.

skill and engagement (*Orator* 17.55-56)? Yet in spite of the deferential citation of the chief Greek orator, rhetoricians since Cicero have also tended to dismiss the principle itself, giving delivery only fractional treatment and occasional appreciation as an important part of the rhetorical arts. Since the Renaissance merging of epistolary and classical doctrine, the first three canons have been cordoned off as all that is necessary for rhetorical composition. Delivery and memory are part of the oral past or relevant only to esoteric forms of social interaction.

Unfortunately, this reductive treatment of rhetoric has also been adopted by modern historians of rhetoric in evaluating textual products. Like the teachers of written rhetoric, modern scholars have treated the first three canons as the only lenses needed to see clearly the key strategies and elements of a rhetorical text. Such an approach may work well for the rhetorical analysis of written texts. For speech, however, the lenses of the first three canons can still present a cloudy view, as we saw with Onslow's ironic use of deliberative topics and dutiful repetition of principles. The customary occasion of the Speaker's ceremony twists the conventional function of deliberative topics, making them serve as gesture, not true suasive arguments. Conversely, if we do take Onslow's excuse regarding his role as Solicitor sincerely, we must acknowledge that the key topics upon which Onslow expects a decision to be made concern constitutional issues esoteric to the English Parliament, quite removed from the traditional topics of classical rhetoric. In composing his oration, Onslow first and foremost fulfills his customary role as Speaker-elect in this institutionally defined rhetorical situation. Here we do well to recall Greek and Latin for delivery, *hypokrites* and *actio* respectively—both of which denote

“acting.”⁴⁵

To avoid potential misinterpretations of oratorical practice, we cannot rely on the first three canons alone as hermeneutic tools for understanding a particular speech’s exercise of civic voice. Nor are they sufficient when reconciled with historical information about the political leanings of orator and audience. We need more information about the particular kind of speech-act being performed, in order to understand fully the usage of common rhetorical strategies, or for that matter, the treatment of contemporary political issues.

Unfortunately, Demosthenes’s triplex reminder of the importance of delivery does not quite address this particular historical problem—though it does identify the *locus* of concern. We do not have recordings of the delivery of early modern speeches, and the auditors’ comments on them do not generally go into great detail. Even so, we can perhaps offer the historian of oratory a suitable analogue to Demosthenes’s advice to orators: In the first, second, and third places for analyzing oratorical practice we must put *custom*. Custom determines the assumed tenor of delivery, whether sincere or ironic. Custom provides a catalogue of commonplaces inherent to the rhetorical occasion itself, commonplaces not necessarily found in rhetorical handbooks. Custom provides also a model, a protocol, for how interactive oratorical exchanges might take place within a particular institutional setting.

At the heart of assessing custom, I would argue, are the set speeches described

⁴⁵ More recently, Rhodes, referring to Demosthenes by way of Bacon, has emphasized the importance of the Greek and Latin terms for the fifth canon. See Rhodes, *The Power of Eloquence*, 8, 12-13. We can certainly see this aspect of delivery in the ironic orations delivered in the Speaker’s confirmation ceremony.

and delivered over extended periods of time within evolving state and social institutions. The tendency has been to treat set speeches as inconsequential rhetorical acts, an expression of internalized commonplaces and values, not genuine civic voice. Given that set speeches represent a significant part of the verbal economy of early modern England, for literate and non-literate alike, the civic and social functions of set speeches play an essential role in interpreting the discourse that follows. We need to understand better how the customary manner of delivering set speeches, such as those opening and closing Parliament, might constitute protocol for verbal interaction in general.

In the next chapter, I look at a speech delivered by a Privy Councilor, one that demonstrates with more sincerity the classical rhetorical strategies taught in schools. Yet even that oration must be reconciled with custom, in particular the customary modes of oratory for Privy Councilors within the Commons. In the final chapter, however, we see how customary modes of discourse outside the Commons might be imported to shake up the *status quo* and perhaps even help establish new modes for discussing certain issues within the context of Parliament.

Chapter 3. A Privy Councilor in Commons: Sadler's Duplex Oratory

Attributed to Walter Raleigh is a dialogue between a "Counsellour of State," that is, a Privy Councilor, and a "Justice of Peace."¹ Their topic of discussion: whether or not King James I should and would call a Parliament to address the realm's financial woes. After considering for comparison all the monarchies and their parliaments from King John to Queen Elizabeth, the Counsellour, who is clearly the tutee in this discourse, asks the Justice his final assessment of the situation:

COUNS. Well Sir, would you notwithstanding all these arguments, advise his Majestie to call a Parliament?

JUST. It belongs to your Lordships, who enjoy the Kings favour, and are chosen for your able wisdom to advise the K. It were a strange boldness in a poore and private person, to advise Kings, attended with so understanding a Councill. But belike your Lordships have conceived some other way, how may be gotten otherwise. If any trouble should happen, your Lordship knowes, that then there were nothing so dangerous for a King, as to be without money: a Parliament cannot assemble in haste, but present dangers require hastie remedies. It will be no time then to discontent the subjects, by using any unordinarie wayes.

COUNS. Well Sir, all this notwithstanding, we dare not advise the King to call a Parliament; for if it should succeed ill, we that advise, should fall into the Kings disgrace. And if the King be driven into any extremitie, we can say to the K. That because we found it extremely displeasing to his Majestie to heare of a Parliament, we thought it no good manners to make such a motion.

JUST. My Lord, . . . there was never any just Prince that hath taken any advantage of the successe of Councils [including "ill" success, as in the potential outcome identified in the Counsellour's comments], which have beene founded on reason. To feare that, were to feare the losse of the Bell more then the losse of the Steeple, and were also the way to beat all men from the studies of the Kings service. (61-62)

¹ *The Prerogative of Parliaments* was probably written about 1616, based on the opening reference to the 1615 Star Chamber trial of Oliver St. John (1). The work was first published in Amsterdam in 1628 (republished in facsimile 1974), no doubt in recognition of the 1628 Petition of Right, and in England in 1640, no doubt as commentary on the Short Parliament. The St. John trial that serves to open the discourse is best explained in the editorial commentary to Bacon's related speeches and letters; he served as Attorney General during the trial: see *Works*, 12: 129-152.

The Justice's initial comments in response to the Counsellour's inquiry hold in them the two key points of the dialogue as a whole: First, the Justice emphasizes that the decision to call Parliament lies entirely in the hands of the King and his immediate advisors, his "understanding . . . Councill." ² It is not the place of a country justice, who is a "private person" indeed, to advise the king in such public matters. This deferral notwithstanding, the second observation proffered by the Justice does appear to lend counsel on the matter. The Justice implies that calling a Parliament would probably be the only wise means for the royal house to raise money, since Parliament allowed for a constitutionally established monetary grant from the common subjects. The dialogue, in fact, begins with reference to a Commons member's protest against James's "unordinarie" means of taxing the Commons, that is, without the approval of both houses of Parliament (1). From the Justice's perspective, the only way to raise money from common subjects without their "discontent" would be to encourage Parliament to pass a lay subsidy bill originating in the House of Commons. The Justice's two observations here actually reflect the dual interpretation of the title of the dialogue itself, *The Prerogative of Parliaments in England*: on one hand, the royal house claimed the prerogative of calling (or not calling) Parliament to convene; on the other hand, the Commons in Parliament claimed the prerogative (or *privilege* as it was more often called) of giving (or not giving) the royal house its subsidy. ³

² We have an account of such an advisory session taking place in 1615, near the time this dialogue was written. See Bacon's *Works*, 12:194-207. Willson provides a commentary on this meeting in *The Privy Councillors* (1940), 35-39.

³ On many occasions the privilege of giving a subsidy was treated as a *prerogative* by those in the lower house since the action was thought unilaterally initiated by the Commons. Francis Bacon defends this exclusive right in Elizabeth's 1593

As noted in the first chapter, Elizabeth called the 1566 Parliament primarily for the purpose of procuring a subsidy, though many of her subjects had other concerns, especially about the uncertainty of Protestant succession. Despite this potentially disagreeable issue, one that had been debated in the previous Parliamentary session (1563) to Elizabeth's chagrin, the royal house again took the politic, "ordinary" route for procuring extra money from subjects, the route proposed by Raleigh's Justice. As his comments suggest, any reservations an English sovereign might have about calling a Parliament, which effectively raised the representatives in the Commons from private persons to temporary counselors of state, should be compensated by an almost guaranteed monetary gift.⁴ Throughout the dialogue, he repeatedly confirms the historical precedent of the Commons faithfully granting subsidy.

In response to the Counsellour's objection that procuring such monetary grants often jeopardized the "Prerogative of Kings"—in having them brook the opinions of

Parliament: "Mr Francis Bacon stood up and spake: his motion was as yeelding to the subsidies. But disliked that we should ioyn with the lords of the Higher House in the graunting of it, for the custome and privedge of this Howse had allwaies beene first to make offer of the subsidie" This objection to the Lords' initiating the subsidy bill "was well liked" (*PiPE* 3: 92-93). That same session the Lords responded dismissively to the Commons' unwillingness to work together on subsidy: "[the Lords] thought that pointe of honnour a nycenes more then needed to be stood uppon" (*PiPE* 3: 96). Many in the Lords apparently denied that the privilege bore the status of prerogative and thought it rather a condescending courtesy.

⁴ Though the name would seem to indicate otherwise, the Privy Council was the only permanent *public* advisory body for the whole realm, since it advised the monarch directly on state business. But the position of Parliament as a temporary public body, one given public authority to act, was a common point of distinction. In Raleigh's dialogue, for example, the Justice notes that Richard II's problems were caused by his willingness to listen to "a private and partiall assembly" of nobles, rather than "generall Councell" (35). Such distinctions between private and public were understood even for evaluating the acts of individual MPs; see, for example, *PiPE*, 1:238, which records a debate on the appropriateness of speaking as a "private man" on the floor of the Commons.

common subjects on matters beyond their grasp—the Justice reassures the Counsellour that “honor and safetie” are preserved when the commoner “opens his purse willingly”

(58). The Justice asks a few rhetorical questions to bring the Counsellour around:

Is it a losse to the K. to be beloved of the Commons? if it be revenue which the King seekes, is it not better to take it of those that laugh, than of those that cry? . . . Is it not more honorable & more safe for the King, that the Subject pay by perswasion, then to have them constrayned? (57-58)

Over a hundred years after Fortescue, Parliament still represents both a willing abrogation of absolute monarchical power and a controlled venue for giving common subjects their own voice in state matters. Not only does the Crown turn at these moments to the less reliable rhetorical power of arguments presented before an audience of commoners, but the act of calling Parliament was itself considered a rhetorical gesture. In fact, by allowing commoners a voice in Parliament, the sovereign “stoppeth every mutinous mouth” that complains against the actions of state, since such actions, though executed by royal ministers, had the “authoritie of [Common] Law” (58). The relative certainty of and subsequent agreeability to a tax levied by Parliament more than made up for the unpleasing cacophony of complaints likely to be raised within the session itself. Such is the reasoning offered by the Justice on James’s situation, and so it seems was the reasoning of Elizabeth in 1566.

If the Justice’s comments reveal a reverence for and trust in the established precedents of Parliament and its orchestrated cooperation among the three estates, the Counsellour’s response shows he has little faith in the historical inevitability of the Commons’ granting the Crown a subsidy. By the time Raleigh wrote his dialogue, after the “Addled Parliament” of 1614, multiple Parliamentary sessions under James

reinforced the previously untested principle that a subsidy was not automatic, or at least not for sovereigns unwilling to hear the Commons' grievances long enough to warrant financial compensation. When the Counsellour shows wariness that Parliament might "succeed ill," he fears either that Parliament would refuse to give a subsidy at all, or that the King's audience to the grievances of the Commons would be too "unpleasing" to bear. Either way, the Counsellour's main worries stem not from the wellbeing of the royal house, or even the state as a whole, but rather from self-preservation as courtier, as a person enjoying "the King's favour." In fact, beyond the Justice's two observations about the constitutional bases of Parliament, Raleigh's more critical point in the *Prerogative of Parliaments* is that the nobles and Privy Councilors look to their own interests when offering advice, rather than to those of king and commonwealth. We might infer as well that Raleigh supposes such dishonest advice is less likely in the general council of Parliament, where courtiers can readily be called to account by commoners.⁵

Besides reflecting well the "social tropes" of court life and its preoccupation with securing the favor of the sovereign in order to attain higher political position, the Counsellour's stance also reveals quite a lot about what some must have perceived to be the efficacious use of civic voice in such a milieu. Clearly he places greater trust in his ability to flatter and rationalize before an audience of one, James, than in the ability of all

⁵ The jab at Privy Councilors is not very subtle, given the Counsellor's querulous and obtuse comments. Note that Raleigh was not a Privy Councilor under Elizabeth or James, in spite of their recurrent trust in him for special missions. A more significant biographical note for our purposes relates to the Justice's potential role as Raleigh's alter ego: the Justice claims to have made an attempt at exempting less well-to-do citizens from the subsidy tax while "in Parliament in the time of Queen Elizabeth" (31); Raleigh makes a similar suggestion in a subsidy committee meeting during 1601 (*PiPE* 3:286-287, 329-333). I have not found a clear referent for Raleigh's Counsellor, though some of his comments seem to echo those of the Earl of Suffolk: see Bacon, *Works*, 12:204.

the Privy Councilors in Commons to sway a majority of MPs. There is no inspiring vision of the Gallic Hercules here, an orator who can control the passions of the multitude by way of eloquence—in spite of the Counsellor's privileged position, in spite of what was probably an outstanding education (given his social class) in the rhetorical and dialectical arts. He rather presents himself as a more cautious (and less ingenious) Agrippa advising Coriolanus than a Demosthenes on the Areopagus or a Cicero in the Senate.

Beyond exposing the Counsellour's caution about speaking out, the dialogue cannot help but reveal as well certain attitudes held toward oratorical practice within the institution of Parliament. The Counsellour would rather rely on cunning speech in a privy meeting than test his (or his colleagues') rhetorical skill with a more public audience in the House of Commons. Given the preponderance of courtly literature encouraging princes to view privy counsels as self-interested flatterers—literature from Machiavelli and Elyot's conduct books to Shakespeare's drama (not to mention Raleigh's own dialogue)—the Counsellour's preference for *that* oratorical venue reveals an utter lack of confidence in *public* speaking as a political tool. By contrast, the Justice sees the benefits of Parliament as inherent in the act of public speaking itself, wherein all decisions, no matter whether they reflect the aims of the crown, become imbued with the voice of the common subjects and, consequently, the commonwealth as a whole.

In the subsequent chapter, we will see the perspective of Raleigh's Justice manifested in an oration from the 1566 Parliament. In this chapter, we will examine the oration of a Privy Councilor in the Commons, paying particular attention to the speaker's rhetorical strategies for swaying the audience of MPs towards the Crown's agenda. In that examination we will be able to see both the classical training used by civil servants to

achieve the ends of public deliberation and, more significantly, the uncertainty with which Privy Councilors viewed the “power of eloquence” in pushing their political agendas. On one hand, this Privy Councilor’s oration demonstrates a traditional appreciation for the nobility of civic speech on matters for bettering the commonwealth. On the other hand, the oration reveals the limited extent to which eloquence was subscribed to as a political tool by those who had other sources of empowerment.

Before coming to the speech itself, we might first explore the Privy Council’s role in the Commons, in order to better understand the customary factors inherent to the rhetorical occasion(s), the factors that precede and succeed the particular political contests at issue in 1566 (i.e., the Queen’s subsidy and her limitation of the crown’s succession). Only then can we appreciate Raleigh’s unflattering depiction of his Counsellour, who would fear the Commons chamber in spite of the Privy Council’s customary power there. Only then can we understand Councilor Ralph Sadler’s use of and ultimate deviation from classical rhetorical form and strategy in his speech in 1566.

I. The Customary Role of Privy Councilors in the Deliberations of the Commons

While Raleigh’s portrayal of his Counsellour may be unremarkable for its cynical picture of courtiers as flattering cabinet counselors—men interested in saving the “Bell” of personal favor at the peril of the state’s “Steeple”—the idea that members of Privy Council were *wary* of Parliament may be less well accepted. Privy Councilors, after all, have long been portrayed as “managerial” of activity taking place on the floor of the

House of Commons and in its various committee rooms.⁶ Not only were Councilors instrumental in advising sovereigns to summon Parliament, as Raleigh's Justice notes, but they were also active in shaping the agenda of issues presented before the two houses, preparing bills to be presented on the floor, and even (on occasion) writing speeches for other MPs to deliver.⁷ True, after Elizabeth's reign the gravitas of Privy Council appears to lessen, both within the royal household and on the floor of the House of Commons.⁸ While the key causes of both these losses of influence are probably the same—the idiosyncrasies of Stuart sovereigns—the Privy Council's diminished voice in the Commons is somewhat perplexing, since the institutionalized managerial roles afforded

⁶ Willson, *Privy Councillors*; Neale, *EP*, *op cit.*, 1:243-244; M. A. R. Graves, "The Management of the Elizabethan House of Commons" (1983); *PoE*. The concept of *management* in these histories varies drastically in tenor and scope, from transparently focused on results (Willson and Neale) to conspiratorially pervasive in influence (Graves and Elton). Without discounting the managerial *aims* of the Privy Council and certain procedural technicalities towards that end (acknowledged by all these historians and outlined below), the intricate collusion posited by Graves and Elton is rarely backed up by solid evidence. Elton goes so far with the managerial assumption that he uses this premise to explain the existence of the private journals from the Commons, since they allowed Cecil, who had been raised to Lords by the 1571 Parliament, to "exercise a degree of management at some remove" (*PoE* 13). A careful reading of the private journals illustrates that they are full of odd procedural points for a political informant to pass on to Cecil, a past member of the Commons and one present at some recorded events. For a sound critique of Graves and Elton's extreme position see Patrick Collinson, "Puritans, Men of Business, and the Elizabethan Parliament" (1988); see also *PuT*, 156.

⁷ For a discussion on divining "government authorship" of bills, see "Chapter 4: Initiatives," in *PoE*, 62-87. On Privy Councilor speech writing, Neale suggests that Cecil provided a draft copy (extant in Cecil's hand) for John Puckering's closing address as Speaker of the Commons in 1585. As Neale notes, Cecil's draft is "conventional," essentially representing the traditional form of the Speaker's address at the close of sessions: asking for assent to bills, giving thanks for a general pardon, presenting the subsidy, etc. Cecil essentially acts the rhetorician by providing a formulary. There is a question as to how far Puckering followed Cecil's model, since a more detailed account appears in a clerk's hand (*EP* 2:95; cf. *PiPE* 2: 22-30, 188-190).

⁸ Willson, "The Tudor and Stuart Backgrounds," in *Privy Councillors*, 3-23. Willson's chapter describes in general terms the relative impotence of Stuart Councils compared to Tudor ones; the rest of the book outlines the differences in detail.

Councilors changed little from Tudor times.

The special place of Privy Councilors derived primarily (but not exclusively) from the fact that Parliamentary actions required the royal assent to take effect, no matter how many in the Lords and Commons voted for them (i.e., there was no override of the royal veto). Consequently, those in the two houses who had the sovereign's ear or privy knowledge of the sovereign's intentions were able to garner attention where others could not. The status of Privy Councilor, then, was a readymade *ethos* based partly on the esteem of being chosen to counsel the sovereign and partly on the accompanying special knowledge about the sovereign's likelihood to assent to particular bills in particular forms. This latter part of the Council's *ethos* inhered in the institution's required cooperation of the three estates and differs significantly from the traditional rhetorical establishment of *ethos* by way of public self-presentation. While Privy Councilors did indeed make efforts to build *ethos* rhetorically in public speeches (as we shall see in the next section), their political power in the House of Commons was primarily a bureaucratic technicality, since all MPs ostensibly stood for coequal electoral constituencies of common subjects.

Given the institutional technicalities underlying the Privy Council's power in the Commons, we should not be surprised that the Councilors' regular participation became institutionalized itself, a part of the customary oratory of the House of Commons. We have already seen the Privy Council's customary role in initiating the nomination speeches for the Speaker of the Commons (see previous chapter; cf. *PiPE* 3: 282). Other members would essentially step out of the way, awaiting the voice of a Privy Councilor, who presumably knew whom the sovereign would accept as Speaker. Note that even on

this rhetorical occasion, wherein the sovereign was essentially bound by constitutional precedent to approve whomever the Commons selected, the Privy Council nonetheless retained a customary role for their knowledge of the sovereign's preferences. The Privy Council, in fact, provided a constitutional pretest for the Commons by putting before them a preferred course: the Commons, by choosing an *acceptable* Speaker, showed respect for the Crown's role without actually relinquishing the power to choose. It is worth noting that the Privy Council's role in choosing the Speaker depended in large part on their politic selection: Privy Councilors never, for instance, chose one of their own to fill the position (though they may have been testing such a possibility by choosing a member of the sovereign's "learned council," namely, the Queen's Solicitor, Onslow).

With a friendly Speaker in place, Privy Councilors consequently enjoyed a positively prejudiced position on the floor during deliberations.⁹ Even their physical location within the chambers—seated immediately next to the Speaker—reflected a privileged status. Recall that the function of the Speaker was to enforce established procedure for legislation and debate and, where no accepted precedent existed, to determine (at his own discretion) the allowable expenditure of time. The Speaker decided, for example, what bills were to be read, who should sit on committees when

⁹ Some historians suggest that the nature of the Speaker's election made him *de facto* a "servant of the crown" (Willson, *Privy Councillors* 6)—that assessment, however, ignores the ritualistic acknowledgements of the Commons' independence in the confirmation ceremony (discussed in the previous chapter), not to mention the occasional need to count votes or debate a nomination, which only happened when the Queen's "learned" councilors were put up for Speaker (*PuT* 20). The "learned council" referred to the sovereign's personal legal representation, including the Attorney General and the Solicitor General, whereas the Privy Council included all the sovereign's appointed advisors, most of whom were also key ministers in government. See previous chapter for the controversy surrounding Onslow's nomination and that of other learned councils, John Popham and Edward Coke, under Elizabeth.

formed, and, finally, the order of speaking on the floor itself (*PuT* 46-48). To be sure, the Council seated near the Speaker generally caught his ear and eye on questions of procedural order, even when the rest of the House tended to go in another direction.¹⁰

The routine role of Privy Councilors on committees was influential, because bills and other measures were revised and in some cases composed anew in committee meetings. In those meetings, moreover, it was assumed that Councilors had the same privileged status that they held on the house floor.¹¹ They were often asked to chair committees, effectively taking the role of Speaker in the committee room, controlling the order of speaking, and, finally, serving as voice for the committee in report to the whole House. This regular participation in committees meant the Council could micromanage the composition of legislation. Although the Council's ubiquitous presence on

¹⁰ Willson closely associates the privileged seating arrangements with the Council's official power in Commons: Councilors, "clustered in a group close to the speaker, formed a sort of ministerial bench and were, in fact, the leaders of the house" (*Privy Councillors* 3; cf. Graves, "Management" 17, 23). The comments of one "Mr Johnson" in 1601 conveniently demonstrate the ministerial identity of those sitting around the Speaker: "I thincke it is well knowne that the honorable that sitt aboute the Chayer, and all the rest of her Majestie's Privye Counsell, have and doe hould the same place [as appointed judges], and this [bill] toucheth them was well as inferyour justices" (*PiPE* 3:426); likewise, "Mr. Symnell" refers to "their honors that sitt aboute the Chayer" (3:436). The pressure of that group on the Speaker may be illustrated by an occasion in 1593, when late in the day "many of the House rose and would not heare [a particular bill] read"; the journalist observes next, "The Privie Councell and many others satt" (*PiPE* 3:166), a fact glaring enough for the Speaker that he calls a vote on the matter, rather than simply dismiss the House; though the House ultimately votes to dismiss, in defiance of the Council, the Speaker probably would never have put the question to vote had the Councilors themselves risen to leave along with a sizable number of others.

¹¹ *PoE*, 96-105; *PuT*, 140-145. Elton discusses bill composition and revision in committees. Loach provides a briefer discussion of committees, adding also some observations about the role of Councilors in committee. For a specific episode illustrating the Council's privileged status in committee see *EP* 2:278, which recounts an episode where Elizabeth chastises Edward Hoby for not showing reverence to Privy Councilor Thomas Heneage in a committee meeting; she presumably heard of it through a Privy Councilor; her rebuke came from the mouth of the Lord Keeper.

committees was protested, the practice was so consistent that, as David Harris Willson notes, the Clerk of the Commons “fell into the habit of beginning lists of committee members with the words, ‘All the Privy Councillors of the House’” (9).

This presence on the Commons committees was accompanied as well by Councilors’ customary role as “delegates” to those outside the House (*PoE* 89), that is, to the other two estates in Parliament, the Lords and Crown. This role of messenger was traditionally assumed by Councilors when they carried a bill that had passed the lower house over to the upper house for approval. The messenger role was also donned when the Commons as a whole wanted to declare its intentions regarding controversial legislation, at times for the purposes of smoothing the way for certain proceedings, at times to secure a constitutional foothold for the lower house. While the Speaker was formally appointed “mouth of the Commons” for official house business, we find in the journals that Privy Councilors performed the function on a regular basis for everyday procedural tasks, such as working out details of bills disagreed upon by the two houses or asking the Lords to join with the Commons in petitioning the sovereign. As messengers, Councilors were charged also with the duty to report the words of the recipient back to the Commons: they became, in effect, representative voices for those who were by law unrepresented in the Commons.¹² Consequently, the speeches of Councilors were attended to carefully, even by those who dissented from the Council’s agenda. For those

¹² Even today the members of the Lords have no franchise in English Commons elections. See *HPW*, 7-17. But while the aforementioned cooperation in the process of legislation was necessary to some extent to pass bills, some objected to the involvement of outsiders in Commons business. The assumption that such liaisons usurped the Commons’ popular voice can be seen, for instance, in Bacon’s protest at consulting the Lords regarding subsidy (see footnote 2 above)—such an action gave the Lords a voice where they traditionally were at the behest of the Commons.

who wanted to push a particular piece of legislation, the Council's cooperation, which might simply come in the form of its inaction, proved vital for determining the best procedures for having bills become laws—assuming, of course, that the dissenters were doing more than making symbolic gestures.

The Privy Council members' institutional status, in sum, gave them a privileged position in all matters of Parliamentary proceedings, including the initiation of bills, the revision of bills in committee, the promotion of bills on the floor, and, finally, in moving the Speaker to enforce the order of the house in favorable ways. These privileges, moreover, were amplified by the fact that Councilors worked as a team. Journals recount occasions where Council members whispered among each other at the front of the chambers, even while others delivered their orations, something declared out of order for most MPs.¹³ The teamwork likewise extended beyond the Commons chamber and its committee rooms. Councilors conferred with the sovereign about when Parliament might be summoned, dissolved, or prorogued: key technical details to know in order to best coordinate the initiation and promotion of bills (*PoE* 118, 141-142). The Privy Council, moreover, was represented in both the Commons and the Lords, and the members met openly to discuss the course of particular business. Such bicameral discussions, which we assume integral to modern party politics, were considered somewhat conspiratorial and collusive for any group excepting the Privy Council—and even their conferences were

¹³ For instance, in 1571 an anonymous journalist notes, "During this speech the Councell whispered together" (*PiPE* 1:239). The Speaker makes no call to order at this moment. By contrast, another anonymous journalist notes in 1593, "Mr Speaker, perceaving some men to use private speeches together, said it was not the manner of the Howse that any should whisper or talke secrettly, for here only publique speeches are to be used" (*PiPE* 3:97).

sometimes called into question.¹⁴

As of yet there is no extended study of the Privy Council's rhetorical strategies during the Tudor and Stuart Parliaments, though many historians have identified specific Parliamentary campaigns to be examples of government "management." Peter Mack's chapter on "Elizabethan Parliamentary Oratory" (in *Elizabethan Rhetoric*) does treat some common rhetorical tactics that appear in "intervention" speeches "on the government side" (229). He notes, for instance, the classical structure in Nicholas Bacon's speeches, which generally included an introductory excuse (based on speaking by "Queen's command"), a division of key points, a central confirmation of the government's position, a refutation of basic opposing positions, an apology (for speaking at length), and an exhortatory peroration (217-224, 230). However, the key examples presented by Mack in this section of his chapter come from the opening ceremony in the House of Lords and therefore cannot be considered part of the day-to-day managerial rhetoric of Councilors in the Commons. The opening speeches in front of the Queen and Lords constitute public address, rather than public debate on deliberative issues: they outline important matters to treat, but do not always advocate specific courses of action. While these addresses did have a political function (declaring the royal agenda and the ostensible purpose of calling Parliament), they were hardly listened to by MPs aiming to

¹⁴ While the public members of the Commons generally accepted the Council's orchestration of its agenda, and they probably assumed that extra-cameral discussions of legislation were taking place, more than once the latter privilege came under scrutiny, particularly in cases where crown MPs, Councilors perhaps, recounted dissenting members' words to the sovereign (for a debate on the issue, see *PiPE* 3:98-100). The business of each chamber, after all, was considered secret. This secrecy was assumed to protect free speech. The next chapter presents a speech that argues from this assumption—one can see it clearly in Peter Wentworth's famous 1576 speech as well.

further their own causes. That the sovereign and Council ultimately expected little from these opening orations in the way of managing legislation within the Commons can be gathered from the fact that more than once (in 1593 and 1604) the ceremony was carried on with most of the Commons locked out of chambers.¹⁵ For a fuller understanding of the Council's rhetorical interventions, we should look more directly at Commons debates, in spite of their less than perfect records.

Although this is not the place for an extended, systematic analysis of Privy Council oratory, in order to better understand the particular case that follows, we might quickly note some of the standard modes of speaking on the floor of the Commons (setting aside for simplicity intra-committee speech and various extramural orations).¹⁶ First, we should note that the Privy Council generally did not speak to initiate or introduce the reading of their bills, perhaps because their institutional status guaranteed readings and a place on each bill's committee. By contrast, other MPs might make an initiating motion for their bills or move that a committee be formed to address a particular issue.¹⁷ To these initiations by other members, Councilors might respond,

¹⁵ Mack's treatment of the Keeper's opening oration as a categorically "government" speech seems to follow from the modern "Queen's Speech," which is a similarly declarative opening address, now delivered by the monarch and openly composed by "government" party members (see *HPW*). In the Tudor and Stuart times, however, the Keeper or Chancellor who delivered the speech may not have been so integral to government administration—Parliamentary custom, in fact, required the opening speech be delivered by "the mouth of the House of Lords."

¹⁶ Mack does outline a variety of speaking in his chapter on Elizabethan Parliamentary oratory, albeit not under the section addressing "government interventions." The material that follows aims to expand upon the Privy Council's speaking occasions in particular, especially to clarify or rethink some of Mack's observations about how Elizabethan Councilors spoke in the House of Commons.

¹⁷ According to some of the more fervent advocates of absolute Privy Council management of the Commons (Graves and Elton), there were "men-of-business" who

especially when such bills and issues pushed for business interfering with the Crown's agenda. When Councilors intervened to persuade against a particular course of business during these early stages of legislation, they could take one of a number of approaches: they could propose that the House pursue a course of non-legislative action, such as a petition; they could argue that the bill or issue was not within the scope of the Commons powers; or they could invoke the sovereign's edict prohibiting debate about particular matters, such as religion (Elizabeth's bugbear). In all cases, Council took on the role of advocate for the Crown. This advocacy could become more forceful later in the session if the House voted to pursue matters the sovereign found inappropriate. In such cases, Councilors might issue "commands" from the Crown to desist in debating a particular issue.¹⁸ The role as Crown advocate went hand in hand with the Council's routine aim to

served as middle-managers and consequently executors for the Privy Councilors, offering speeches and drafting legislation primarily in support of for Privy Council causes. In fact, Graves, who is cited frequently by Elton to justify his speculation of Cecil's management, cites evidence showing rather that the "Council's men-of-business" (as he calls them) were more probably independent "men-of-business," whom the Council had to negotiate with due to the fact that it could not manage them. Graves does cite a statement by London MP Thomas Norton claiming that his main concern was for Privy Council matters (18); but Neale decades ago identified a similar statement from William Cecil claiming that a Privy Councilor, though disagreeing with the sovereign, must do as commanded (*EP* 2:243). If we are to take such statements as face-value accounts of motive, then we must argue that *all* the stalwarts in the Commons, Councilors and men-of-business alike, directly or indirectly acted at the Queen's behest—an assessment easily vitiated by the surprising number of Commons bills Elizabeth vetoed. See note 6 above for support and critiques of the "men-of-business" arguments.

¹⁸ For instance, Hatton reminds the Commons of Elizabeth's "commaundement" against discussing religious matters in 1581 (1:527). And compare Treasurer Knollys' suggestion that it was not "expedient" for the Commons to "meddle with matters of [the Queen's] prerogative" (*PiPE* 1:220), which was made 14 April 1571, with a later more threatening "advertisement to be wary in [the House's] proceedings and [not] to hazard [the Commons'] good opinions with her Majestie on any doubtfull cause" (1:238). On both occasions Comptroller James Croft adds comments "to the effect as Mr. Treasurer before had spoken." The first warning emphasizes pragmatism in passing the Commons'

delimit debate: the one was accepted as inherent to the constitutional monarchy and the other, consequently, was understood to be a customary point of contention within the House of Commons, where Councilors became, in effect, biased interpreters of the Speaker's traditional petition for free speech for the Commons (see previous chapter).¹⁹

When their interventions were not so explicitly intended to curb the actions of the Commons in favor of the Crown's interests, Councilors tended to take on a markedly officious voice, one that reflected the authority of their ministerial duties. They regularly made report of the details surrounding issues, such as particular national or international events (e.g., an attempt on the sovereign's life) or various ongoing threats (e.g., from papists in Spain). Such report speeches (like the Chancellor's opening) sometimes omitted any motion for specific action, though the expectation might be that another MP, perhaps a Councilor or other minister, would follow up with some measure to address the problem.²⁰ The role assumed here was that of authoritative officer, one who declares more than persuades. A similar role was often assumed by Councilors as chairs of

legislation; the second, avoiding Elizabeth's disfavor.

¹⁹ Less vested members would eventually have more and more to say about the privilege of free speech, adding their own interpretations (see next chapter), and ultimately institutionalizing the protection of free speech in a standing committee: see Mary Frear Keeler, "The Emergence of Standing Committees for Privileges and Returns" (1983); David Colclough, "Freedom of Speech in Early Stuart Parliaments," in *Freedom of Speech in Early Stuart England* (2005), 120-196.

²⁰ The perceived significance of that oratorical practice for contemporaries can be gathered out of Henry Unton's laudatory commentary (which was part of an exordium to a subsequent speech) on Thomas Heneage's liaison to the Lords: "he hath so honorably, faithfully, and trulie delivered such matters to the Lordes as were comitted to his charge by the Howse, as he hath discharged him self very sufficientlie towards us, satisfied their Lordships fully, and gained no smale honor to him self, both from them and us, both in this reporte to them, and nowe in his relacion to us" (7 Mar. 1593; *PiPE* 3:54). These reportage orations deserve much greater attention and should not necessarily be lumped under "deliberative" oratory *per se*, as Karl Wallace does in outlining Bacon's orations ("Francis Bacon and Method" 264).

committees. Chairs generally reported to the whole house the decisions about a bill or issue made by committee members, essentially summing up the body's conclusions and presenting them before the Commons. This role of reporter was adopted as well when Councilors recounted to the Commons speeches and debate heard in a conference with members of the House of Lords or with the sovereign. The regular voice of report afforded Councilors derived directly from their routine roles as committees and messengers, and it allowed them to speak on matters with a seeming bureaucratic disinterest that, for the moment, obscured their role as advocates. Explicit political positioning within a Councilor's message would often appear only as a brief recommendation following an extended report. No doubt the committee room out of which that report came heard Councilors' more clearly persuasive oratory.²¹

On the floor of the commons, finally, there were indeed occasions where Councilors gave orations that more clearly supported a particular political position on a controversial cause. By far the largest category of such orations addresses "great causes": that is, issues concerning the royal person and his or her powers.²² We should first note

²¹ For an extended discussion of oratory in Parliamentary committee see Wallace, "Discussion in Parliament and Francis Bacon." For an account of William Cecil's meeting memoranda, see Mack's chapter on "Political Argument" in *Elizabethan Rhetoric*; the memoranda in question concern Privy Council meetings, yet we can gather that the strategies were used by him in Parliamentary committee meetings, which were governed by a similarly loose debate protocol. For a first-hand of Councilors in Parliamentary committee, see for instance *PiPE*, 3:286-287, 329-333; Bowyer, 38-45.

²² Elton offers a useful breakdown of the bills moved in Parliament according to subject matter, the first category of which concerns the person of the sovereign and statecraft, which he labels "great causes," on the basis of a clerk's shorthand for a committee about Elizabeth's safety (*PoE* 175). He divides other material into "Church and Religion," "Commonweal," "Law Reform," and "Private Legislation" (see chapter heads in *PoE*). While Elton's categories serve as a useful comprehensive collation of bills proposed in the period, we should be careful not to assume that bills outside that first

that the relative abundance of material addressing these kinds of issues does not stem from the Councils' special concern for the Crown: we have more extant speech and debate on these issues from speakers at each of the rungs in the political ladder. The fact that Parliament involved cooperation between Crown and Commons (not to mention the Lords) turned many a "commonwealth" issue into a "great cause" scrutinizing constitutional prerogatives and privileges. Under this category reside all matters of church discipline, Crown procurements and expenditures (especially for military campaigns), and the levying of taxes, not to mention issues concerning the powers and procedures of Parliament itself. On these matters, whether the Crown's desires had been presented or not, Councilors were assumed to speak for the sovereign's interests before those of their own constituencies. Given this assumption, Councilors rarely gave excuse for speaking upon issues seen as pertinent to the sovereign and the royal powers; by contrast, many public MPs felt compelled to apologize, in order to shield themselves from accusations of treasonous dissent.²³ Indeed, the Councilors' voices of advocacy for

category were not considered "great causes," which, after all, is a rhetorically loaded term (see previous chapter on Puttenham), one whose usage should be analyzed more fully. Church matters, for instance, almost necessarily overlap with those of sovereign and state during this period—hence Hatton is recorded by a journalist as identifying the issue of "the Bill and the Book" (concerning church reform) as a "great cause" (*PiPE* 2:393).

²³ Francis Alforde in 1572, a session marked by measures to "provide for the Queen's safety," showed an unpopular desire to proceed slowly in the treason trials against Mary Queen of Scots, a position he prefaced with an excusatory preamble: "He desireth favorable construction of that which he wolde saie. He promiseth to utter his conscience with respect of dutie towards God and the Queen' majestie" (*PiPE* 1:328; cf. *EP* 1:259; Mack 225-226). This apologetic insistence on loyalty comes where the speaker actually supports Elizabeth's public unwillingness (contradicting her Council) to execute Mary; yet Alforde feels obliged to excuse himself before the Commons, lest the more severe audience hold him in contempt. Privy Councilor Wilson, the chief investigator of Mary's conspiracy, answers with a mild correction, citing details that came up in a committee wherein he "wisheth Alforde had bene"—never mind that such a privilege was

the Crown and their ministerial officiousness were expected on all matters that touched on the sovereign's powers.

Although many "great causes" arose recurrently from session to session, there was one so consistently part of Parliamentary business that it may be considered a focal point for the Council's customary role of advocacy and its need to manage the lower House: the lay subsidy for the Crown, which is the focus of Raleigh's dialogue and the key issue in the speech to be analyzed here.²⁴ A bill for subsidy could not be initiated by the sovereign directly, nor started in the House of Lords: a sitting member of the Commons had to promote it. The most logical members of the House to make such a motion were Privy Councilors knowledgeable of the sovereign's finances. Thus Secretary William Cecil makes the speech in 1559, 1563, and 1566; in 1571, after Cecil had been promoted to the House of Lords, Francis Knollys, Treasurer of the Queen's Household, gives the oration. Then followed a series of subsidy speeches by Walter Mildmay, Chancellor of the Exchequer during 1576, 1581, 1585, 1587, and 1589. His role as promoter of the subsidy is taken on by the next generation of Cecils, Secretary Robert in particular, who collaborates with Chancellor of the Exchequer, John Fortescue. Mack notes about Mildmay's 1576 speech that the speaker's official position plays an

not granted him. We can compare Alforde's excuse with Councilor Christopher Hatton's apology in speaking on the 1584 "Bill and the Book" (*PiPE* 2: 333, 340). In his speech, Hatton apologizes for speaking on a religious topic, though not a divine himself; here, the excuse contains a subtle message to MPs pushing the bill that they were speaking and acting beyond their ken, a point that Hatton makes less subtly later in the session: Hatton's "excuse" in the earlier speech serves rather as veiled rebuke.

²⁴ Only one Elizabethan Parliament lacked a subsidy bill: 1572 (*PuT* 119). In 1593, a speaker (anonymous) used this common focal point as point of comparison for his own business: "Truly Mr Speaker, in my simple opynion there hath not bene a bill offred to this Howse all this parleament—the subsedy only excepted—either more woorthy of good consideracion, or more necessary to be provided for" (*PiPE* 3:58).

especially important role in the arguments, which use “his inside knowledge to increase the authority of his arguments, [with Mildmay] presenting himself as a financial expert, favouring his audience with privileged information” (233). This observation about the officiousness of Mildmay’s speech can be generalized to the other Councilors’ speeches initiating the subsidy bill.

Not only would the person of the orator display a customary face and authoritative voice, but the timing of the motions was generally coordinated around expected prorogations based on religious holidays, thereby creating two customary subsidy seasons: of the twelve motions in Elizabeth’s reign, three came within fifteen days of 1 November and eight came within twenty days of 7 February (one late bloomer came in April). For the 1580s, Walter Mildmay was a veritable harbinger of the year’s end (Elizabethans following the Julian calendar that began with March), as he delivered all but one of his orations for subsidy in February.

Besides the person of the orator and the timing of delivery, the content of the speech also reflected custom, touching on the same basic topics. Elizabethan Privy Councilors in the initial subsidy speech almost exclusively relied on the classical topic of *safety*, never proposing the levying of special taxes for any form of public works not directly related to military matters. As Elton has noted, most of these calls for extra moneys for national defense came while the country was not officially at war (*PoE* 154-155). Nonetheless, the constant threat of Roman Catholic interferences and conspiracies in England made defense an open-ended cause, one that the Protestant Commons generally attended to. This same fear for religious wellbeing, after all, moved the House as a whole to pursue vehemently religious reformation and discipline, even though that

was ostensibly the purview of the bishops in the Lords; this fear also caused the Commons to aggressively pursue Elizabeth's marriage and limitation of succession, though she firmly resisted their input. Given the overwhelming concern for safety (both physical and spiritual), Privy Councilors generally took their role as authoritative ministers for granted and declined to give any proper exordium (i.e., no attempt at gaining goodwill or credibility though the issue was often contested), instead presenting a more or less dramatic narrative of the threat from enemies, ultimately emphasizing a litany of necessary military expenditures being forced upon the Crown. These speeches on the need for subsidy for the purpose of security represent the main category of legislation on which the Council consistently prepared speeches to introduce a bill to the Commons or to propose that a committee be formed. The topics of the speeches given by the Council in support of subsidy emphasize official assessments on the state of the state, in contrast to the calls to show "gratitude" often invoked by MPs who were less vested in ministerial positions (yet quite eager to show themselves as supporting the crown).

The latter kind of Commons speaker was a rare breed, however, and roundly ridiculed when his motives were transparent.²⁵ Given that the subsidy was considered an extra financial burden for the common subjects (though not an extraordinary means like James's "benevolences"), MPs regularly expressed dissent. The voices of complaint raised with successive subsidy bills did not generally oppose the cause itself, but rather they supported the traditional function of Parliament as a place for petitioning the Crown for correction of subjects' unfair or unlivable conditions—a form of recompense

²⁵ For instance, "Mr Goodyere" in 1571 suggested that the Commons freely "offer" a subsidy without presenting further complaints (see below), a comment that the anonymous journalist interpreted as "a greate desire to winne favour" (*PiPE* 1:203).

Elizabethan and Stuart MPs took for granted as return for providing a subsidy.²⁶ This supportive, but plaintive stance is neatly encapsulated in Robert Bell's response to Knollys's 1571 subsidy speech:

Mr Bell sayd that a subsidee was by every subiect to bee yeilded, but for that the people were robbed (by two meanes) . . . : namely by lycenses and the abuse of promooters, for which if remedie were provided, then would the subsidie bee payd willingly, which hee proved, for that by lycenses a fewe were enriched and the multitude impoverished. (*PiPE* 1:202)

Similar loyal complaints are offered by two other respected Commons men during this session: Popham, who complained about the "abuse of treasurers of the Crowne" who gave improper loans, and Lovelace, who thought subjects should give subsidy "without any condicion or lymitacion," though he also "thought it requisite that those evilles might bee provided for . . . [f]irst, the abuse of purveiors . . ." (*PiPE* 1:202-3). Just as the Councilors provide a litany of necessary military expenditures, so do these other MPs present a litany of complaints against royal agents who harassed their constituencies (i.e., promoters and purveyors). These complaints, offered in careful, qualified dissent to the subsidy motion, spawned alternate committees to deal with the grievances, which then produced new bills that took up time on the house floor and distracted from the Council's own agenda: the resulting debates were, to borrow Elton's phrase, the "bane of parliamentary managers" (*PoE* 164; cf. Graves, "Management" 15-16), and they show how the privileged position of the Council did not mean their efforts went unchallenged. Indeed, as these responses to the subsidy motion suggest, the Councilors' close connection to the *Crown* regularly called into question their collective *ethos* in speaking on *commonwealth* matters. Once public members weighed the near and dear concerns of

²⁶ *PuT* 126; Mack, *Elizabethan Rhetoric*, 252.

their public constituencies and private consciences against the “great causes” of the sovereign, whose matters the Privy Council oversaw, a true contest of civic voice arose.

At these contentious moments, braver Privy Councilors may indeed have fancied themselves as resembling the mythic orator-civilizer at the beginning of Cicero’s *De Inventione*, forgoing the brutish carrot and stick—not uncommon tools for managing unruly subjects in Tudor England—in favor of sophisticated verbal suasion.²⁷ Such civic contests in such public forums are, after all, classical rhetoric’s reason for being. The nature of these contests prompted rhetoricians to conceptualize an art directed particularly towards bringing the audience away from the dissenters’ cause and towards the speaker’s. As Antonius in Cicero’s *De Oratore* notes, the contest of civic voices inheres in the very structure of an artistically (i.e., rhetorically) composed speech:

[T]o make some prefatory remarks, then to set out our case, afterwards to prove it by establishing our points with arguments in their favour and refuting our adversary’s points, then to wind up our case and so to come to our conclusion—this is the procedure enjoined by the very nature of oratory. (*De Or.* 2.76.307)

This procedure of the classical rhetoricians provided a historically efficacious alternative to the authoritarian power more commonly wielded by magistrates. When the Privy

²⁷ In fact, Robert Cecil, Lord Treasurer under James I, seems to refer to the “lower House” as a “wilderness” (*PiP-1610* 1:12). As to the methods of dealing with commoners: though the “stick” of monarchical government may be readily imagined by modern students of the period, the “carrot” is often assumed simply to be some personal favoritism. In the case of Parliament, however, the carrot includes promises by the Privy Council to address the subjects’ grievances with extra-parliamentary action. In the excerpt from 1571 quoted above, Comptroller of the Queen’s Household James Croft promises “reformation of all things rising by the purveyors,” seemingly to avoid more debate on the floor (*PiPE* 1:203). While these promises might appease the plaintiffs momentarily, they added another item to the Council’s already full administrative agenda. Members of the Council would no doubt rather persuade others to focus on the Crown’s action without having to commit further to extra ministerial action.

Council could not easily use its institutional authority to threaten other members into silence, for fear of exacerbating the already agitated wounds caused by Crown ministers, and when it could not guarantee the Crown would (or could) successfully remedy the subjects' complaints, the deliberative oratory learned in humanist classrooms and read in histories probably seemed a valid recourse.

Although not the standard mode for Privy Councilors, a formal classical oration might at such times help tame the unruly voices in the Commons chamber and reassert the Council's managerial presence. In 1566, on the issue of subsidy, Privy Councilor Ralph Sadler appears to have recognized the appropriateness of the classical form for exhorting fellow MPs to focus on remedying the Queen's cause. This oratorical effort—coming in a form resembling that outlined by Antonius above—was recorded in Sadler's own hand in a document that still survives.²⁸

II. Classical Rhetoric for the Queen's Cause: Sadler's Textbook Deliberative Speech

The Privy Council's team effort for subsidy and the corresponding chorus of complaint show up vividly enough in the documents we have extant for the 1566 Parliament, even if the record is sparse and not altogether consistent. For 17 October, the *Commons Journal* identifies Privy Councilor Edward Rogers, Comptroller of the Queen's

²⁸ See "Speeches in Parliament and Council" in *The State Papers and Letters of Sir Ralph Sadler Knight-Banneret* (Edinburgh, 1809), ed. Arthur Clifford, 3: 302-340. The speech discussed below is one of four full orations and one set of notes presumed to be for speaking. It is reprinted in *PiPE*, 1:141-144, which will serve as our primary source. Clifford's placement of the speech in 1559 has been rejected by modern historians, who consistently place it on 18 Oct. 1566 (*PiPE* 1:120; cf. *EP* 2:138-9; *PoE* 366-7). Note: The edition of *Sadler Papers* referenced in *PiPE* and *EP* came in two volumes, whereas the one I use, primarily for its opening biography by Walter Scott, has three, though the publication date is the same. I cannot explain the discrepancy.

Household, as first to move “for some Aid” in “Consideration of the Queen’s Majesty.” The French ambassador to Charles IX summarizes (on the basis of his informants) a full oration lamenting the danger of the Queen’s empty coffers.²⁹ The *Commons Journal*, however, ascribes a full oration for subsidy instead to William Cecil, who argued in an “Excellent Declaration” (for which we still have only a brief summary) that the tax was warranted given the recent military expenditures in Ireland and in preparation of threats from the continent. As noted above, it was customary for the Privy Councilor advancing the motion to provide some justification for it in terms of safety, even when no resistance was expected or ultimately occurred, as was the case in the two previous sessions. In this instance, such a justification appears to have been necessary. Immediately following Cecil’s (or perhaps Roger’s) speech on the required expenditures, a speaker argued against the motion on the basis that the Queen bore the responsibility for the decision to take these military actions, and therefore for the costs as well. Clearly this “country gentlemen,” as the French ambassador called him, felt that Speaker Onslow’s omission of the petition for free speech (see previous chapter) was a procedural aberration that did not revoke the historic assumption that the floor of the Commons was wide open for debate.

Others consequently took to the field on both sides. Edward Baeshe, the “surveyor of victuals for the navy” (*EP* 1: 137), a Crown minister who presumably knew first-hand about the Queen’s needs for the naval defense, argued for funds to build new ships and

²⁹ The French ambassador’s letter is cited by Neale and Alsop as a relevant source, but ignored entirely by Elton. With such incomplete journal entries, the extra source is not easily impeached, no matter the typical unreliability of ambassadorial report. In this case, there may be an elision of Cecil’s and Roger’s orations, a possibility that does not affect this study. The relevant letters are most readily available in the widely published e-text, Isaac D’Israeli’s *Curiosities of Literature*, vol 2. (ca. 1800). Neale apparently had direct access to the letters in question (*EP* 1:136n1).

maintain old ones. His vested position would work against him, however, as his oration was followed by a speech decrying the self-interest of a naval purveyor calling for a subsidy that would ultimately supply the navy: in modern U.S. parlance, he was being accused of “pork-barrel politics.” Although we do not have exact or sufficient records of these orations (only the French ambassador’s letter to Charles IX), as much as we can tell by what we do have, the arguments resemble modern political debate in the critiques of self-interested political bias. No wonder the prevailing interpretations of these events draw upon modern Parliamentary paradigms of “government” and “opposition” parties.

These modern political categories have more than once been backwards engineered in attempts to explain the motivations of the early modern Parliamentary members: Neale identifies an organized opposition party in this and the previous session, a party he labels a “Puritan choir” (*EP* 91-92, *passim*); Elton reads an iconic “government” party into the “laws-producing machine” operated by chief ministers like William Cecil (*PoE* 9, *passim*).³⁰ For our purpose, we need primarily recognize that, whatever “party” allegiances there may have been, the Privy Council’s effort to advance a subsidy bill must not have received the deep traction that would make Councilors feel comfortable, even though the day’s motion for subsidy did produce a committee to begin writing up the bill. As Ralph Sadler’s speech on the next day (18 October) will attest, at least one Privy Councilor thought it necessary to continue promoting the subsidy, even

³⁰ Neale’s idea of the organized “Puritan opposition” within Elizabeth’s early Parliaments has been roundly criticized by Graves and Elton. Both these revisionists, however, rely so much on the modern concept of a “government” leadership within the Commons that their own readings are highly suspect. For a brief discussion of how both “government” and “opposition” categories are anachronistic, see Russell, *The Crisis of Parliaments* (1971), 219. For an apology for Neale’s identification of a Puritan party, see Collinson, “Puritans, Men of Business and Elizabethan Parliaments” (1988).

before the committee for the subsidy had returned with a figure for the proposed tax, which would be the typical moment for adding further promotion to a subsidy bill (see more below). Sadler's speech on 18 October shows, more significantly, that Privy Councilors in the Commons did indeed feel obliged to convince fellow MPs of their causes' merits, to have the common subjects "pay [a subsidy] by persuasion," rather than by coercion, as Raleigh's Justice later suggests is a key function of Parliament.

Exordium: Establishing an Equitable Voice for the Body Politic (Head and Limbs)

Sir Ralph Sadler (1507-1587) was a Privy Councilor who served key roles in Tudor government as far back as Henry VIII (Scott iv-xviii). Born early in the sixteenth century, Sadler would have been educated at the earliest point of Tudor humanism. Perhaps he received the idealistic curriculum promoted by early educational reformers, a course of study that generally culminated in *declamation*, an exercise that gave students practice in arguing specific civic issues (see first chapter). In any case, Sadler had plenty of experience as an orator *outside the classroom*. Sadler, a sometime diplomat, often served the Tudors as envoy to Scotland. It is through this service that Sadler raised himself from ambitious commoner to Privy Councilor, and ultimately (after our episode) to Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster. Seventeenth-century antiquary Thomas Fuller went so far as to name Sadler one of his *Worthies of England* (1662), where he is listed under the head of "Souldiers" for the county of Middlesex. According to Fuller, Sadler was the last Knight Banneret for England, an honor he won in the "Battle of Muscleborow." Sadler's combined diplomatic and military feats lead Fuller to write, "It is seldome seen that the *Pen* and *Sword*, *Gown* and *Corselet*, meet eminently as here, in

the same person.” Fuller fleshes out the picture: “Yet was he little in stature, *tall* not in person, but in *performance*” (183). Elyot’s governor, part able knight, part humanist counsel, could hardly have better representation, whether or not he had seen his forms all the way through to declamation.

Sadler’s tall performance at Muscleborow, where he “ordered and brought up [the] *scattered Troops* (next degree to a route), inviting them to fight by his own example,” seems to be reprised in his 1566 speech to the Commons. This is, as we shall see, a regrouping and retrenching oration, a logical sequel to the skeptical dissent raised the day before. The reactive nature of the oration appears from its very beginning. Notice in the preamble that follows that Sadler’s tone is surprisingly deferential and defensive for someone taking up the cause of the Queen’s ministers before an assembly of common subjects, especially given his renown as war hero, statesman, and counselor:

Touching the Subsidie: trewly no man lyving wolde be more loth then I to set fourth or to speke in the furtherunce of any thing in this place whiche might seme to be chargeable or burdenous to my countrey, but when I do consider of the grete and weightie causes which at this tyme do in dede urge and require a subsidie I can not pretermitte ne passe the same over with sylence, but rather have thought it my duetie to commende the same to your wisdomes and good consideracions. And if any man shall conceyve of my speche or percase not loking into the depth and botom of the matier shall thinke or iudge of me that I speke for the profite and commodyttee of the Queen’s Majeste rather then for the benefite and common weale of my countrey, for her Majestie is the hed of our commen weale, and being the hed of our comen weale that which is good for the one can not be evill for the’other. And therfore I may the more boldely speke in that which I thinke is profitabl, commodious and good for both. (*PiPE* 1:141)

Sadler surely has in mind the accusation of the previous day’s dissenting speaker who suggested that the subsidy motion was motivated by the profiteering interests of vested Crown ministers. Reflecting that concern, this preamble centers on the topics of speech

and profit and how they might intertwine without suspicion, that is, with honor: Sadler's first sentence claims that he would neither speak for something at the *expense* of the country, nor sit silent when he thought the country in danger; his second sentence disavows profiteering motives in speaking for the Queen's cause, on the principle that she is the head of the country, and therefore what profits her profits the whole commonwealth; his third sentence works from the conceit that the Queen and country are one, upon which he justifies his boldness in furthering both the Queen's cause as good for all. Sadler here attempts to establish that his care for the Queen and the Commons are united in purpose, a conceit that conveniently overlooks the always suspect group of middlemen separating the common subjects from the royal household, a group called out by the "country gentleman" a day earlier. Here Sadler follows classical methods for rebuilding the ethos of an orator, countering previous aspersions and establishing goodwill, so that the argument that follows persuades more convincingly.³¹

Besides noting that Sadler follows the classical rhetorical advice that orators (re)construct an ethos at the beginning of an oration (rather than relying solely on public reputation or characterization by earlier speakers), we should note *how* Sadler chooses to attempt this verbal feat. Compare Sadler's apologetics in the Commons with the opening

³¹ Aristotle states, "{There is persuasion} through character whenever the speech is spoken in such a way as to make the speaker worthy of credence; . . . And this should result from the speech, not from a previous opinion that the speaker is a certain kind of person" (*Rhet.* 1.2.4). The Roman rhetoricians were especially attentive towards establishing the "goodwill" of the audience in the introduction to speeches, since Roman emphasis on forensic oratory made rhetorical performance necessarily adversarial: see *Ad Her.* 1.4.6-7; *De Inv.* 1.15.20-1.17.25; *De Or.* 2.79.322; *De Part.* 8.28; and *Inst. Or.* 4.1.22. Cicero in *De Inventione* identifies one "species" of exordium as dealing with "insinuations" particularly and speaks of "conciliations" in *De oratore*. As Quintilian notes, many of the Roman strategies for forensic oratory apply to deliberative oratory as well, and particularly in regards to establishing ethos at the outset (3.8.7-8).

speeches before the Lords and Queen discussed in the previous chapter. Where Onslow and Bacon had emphasized the special places, duties, privileges, and prerogatives of each separate station of the commonwealth (Lords, Commons, and Queen), Sadler rather equates the “head” with the whole, positing in turn that a speech for the Queen should be taken as good for the rest of the members of the body politic. The passing allusion to the body politic is of course a classical conceit that needed no elaboration to convey meaning to a Renaissance audience. Like many classical commonplaces used during the Renaissance, the body politic was not only traditional, but rudimentary, a parcel of basic grammatical, rhetorical, and ethical education. In fact, Sadler’s use of the figure as a means of promoting unity and positing social interdependence across class lines reflects well the canonical interpretation of one of the most popular school texts of the period: Aesop’s fable of “Of the Limbs and the Belly,” which we noted in the first chapter to be a staple of grammar school education in Latin language, moral values, and rhetorical composition.

Aesop’s fable favors anatomical features slightly different from those Sadler uses here, yet conveys a similar message about the interdependence of the body politic. John Brinsley offers a version in his 1624 English-Latin edition for grammar school use. This version sounds almost like a parody of the French ambassador’s account of the resistance to subsidy in the 1566 Parliament:

The foot and the hand of a time accused the belly, for that their gaines were devoured by it living in idlenesse. They command that it labour or seeke not to be nourished. It beseecheth them once, or twice: yet notwithstanding, the hands denie to relieve it. The belly being consumed thorough [sic] lacke of food, when all limmes began to faint, then at length the hands would be kinde: but that too late. For the belly being feeble thorough [sic] lacke of use repelled (all) meate: so whilst all the limmes

envy the belly they perish together with the belly. (30^f)

Though Sadler provides no extended fabulous narrative and replaces Aesop's belly with a head, Sadler's perfunctory invocation of the body politic nonetheless conveys the same moral about the interdependence of all parts of human society, which he sums up neatly: "that which is good for the one can not be evill for the' other."³² The figure then serves to level the differing conditions of the Privy Councilor speaking, who is closely connected to the head (her eyes as it were), and those of the country MPs and London backbenchers.

The various versions of Aesop's fables published in England, the first being Caxton's English translation (1484), recount the moral of the fable in like tenor to Sadler's invocation of the figure, though they do vary in how they interpret the social order implied for the various members of the body in the original tale. Caxton's edition, for instance, says the fable teaches that "a servaunt ought to serve wel his mayster / to thende that his mayster hold and kepe hym honestly" (lxiii^v). This statement of the moral, which appears also in some later English editions (1551, 1570), omits the emphasis on *mutual* interdependence conveyed in the fable itself, highlighting rather the

³² There are many precedents for seeing the head, rather than the stomach, as centerpiece of the body politic. In 1560, MP Thomas Norton published an English translation of a speech culled from Justinus's classical history. In the speech, Arsanes the Persian urges the "Counsell" of the Persian King to reject a treaty with Philip of Macedon, whom Arsanes perceives to be a tyrant: "For if the head which is the lyfe and stay of the bodie, betray the members, must not the members also needes betray one another, & so the whole bodie and head go all together to utter wrecke and destruction?" (D.iii^v). In this case, the head of Philip taxes the members a little more unscrupulously than Aesop's belly does its limbs, yet the body collapses in like fashion. Fortescue likewise recognizes a body with a kingly "head" and lesser "members," yet he notes both are "knytt and preserved together," and also bound, "by synewes (*a ligando*)," that is, the laws of the land (ch. 13). For later use of the head and body in Parliament, see Mildmay's seeming acknowledgment of Fortescue's body politic, *PiPE*, 2:138; also *PiP-1610*, 1:8, 13, 2:10-11.

feudal hierarchical order. By contrast, the first Latin versions in England (1502, 1503, 1514), richly glossed—probably for use in grammar schools—elaborate much more fully on the moral, including the concept of social interdependence as necessary for survival.³³ A later Latin edition (1535) provides a concise statement of a more equitable interpretation of the moral, shown below along with translations from two separate Latin-English editions:

Perinde atque in membrorum societate est, ita habet se societas humana. Membrum egit membro, amicus eget amico. Quare mutuis officiis utendum est. Neque divitiae, atque dignitatum apices hominem satis tuentur. Unicum et summum praesidium complurimum amicitia est. (1535; fable #40; 19-20)

Ev'n as it is in the felowship of the members: so mans felowship fareth. A member nedeth a member, a frend nedeth a frend: whærfor men must us changabl' good turns, nether shal riches nor the top of dignity, sav a man ynouh.. Friendship is the only and the chef defenc of most men. (1585; fable 40; *op. cit.* 61)

It is even so in humane society, like as in the society of the members. One member needs another, and a friend needeth a friend, Wherefore we must use mutuall workes; for neither riches, nor the highest dignities can sufficiently defend a man. The onely and chieftest stay, is the friendship of very many. (1624 Brinsley edition; fable #40; 31^r)

In these editions, social differences (in riches and dignity) are mentioned, but the disparate members are united in friendship, which is the only thing that saves the body as a whole. This version of the fable's moral fits well with Sadler's claim that, in speaking for the head, he speaks mutually for the whole commonwealth. Sadler, in particular,

³³ From the 1514 edition (which may well be a text Sadler used in his grammar schooling): “homo non est satis sibi omnis amicus eget ille[?] indiget amico si tu [?] non vis parcere aliis parce tibi.” (A few characters are difficult to distinguish.) Beyond the social lessons, the commentary in this edition also reads the fable as teaching about care of the body and soul, especially in regards to gluttony and labor; the fable is thereby connected to a biblical passage rejecting worldly conveniences: “Non in solo pane vivit” (E.iii^v).

makes no attempt to privilege the head over the body, as Caxton's earlier reading of the fable seems to encourage, but rather emphasizes fellowship.

Sadler's matter-of-fact reference to the body politic to invoke the *common cause* is noteworthy given the common strategy of orators and writers of dissecting this figure to assert the *special status* of particular members (along the lines of Caxton's reading). A speech by Roman Emperor Alexander Severus (202-235?), for instance, republished in 1584 as *A Mirour for Magestrates of Cyties*, dissects Imperial Roman society into specialized organs: "a Kyng as Supreame-head . . . godly Prelates as the heart . . . worthy Gentlemen, as the Armes . . . aduentrous Marchauntes, as the legges . . ." (7). Likewise, in the 1585 Parliament (as recorded by an anonymous journalist), MP Thomas Digges discusses a bill for London by fleshing out the anatomy of the body politic, even recounting Aesop's original tale more directly:

'I can not so{?} make a better reason then by a comparison.
'As if in a naturall bodye on[e] lyme should drawe all the norishment unto it, that should serve all, the rest would decaye, as putt case the belly drawe to it, it would become a monstrous belly, or if it were the head, how shall the handes and legges defend the head?
'London is the belly, or if yow will, the head of England, yet I pray yow lett the legges and handes lyve by it. . . .' (*PiPE* 2:112)

Digges does draw upon the canonical message of interdependence, but repeats the tale with greater specificity than does Sadler, in order to contextualize the moral in explicit, contemporary terms, terms that favor his partial interest in the city of London. In doing so Digges reiterates the rhetorical path appearing in an example from Richard Rainolde's *Foundacion of Rhetorike* (1563), where Aesop's fable is used to further the lot of English

shepherds by identifying them with the stomach.³⁴ This more careful anatomizing might indeed have served Sadler's purpose—since fully told, Aesop's fable could not be more apt for arguing subsidy—yet his rhetorical strategy clearly seeks to avoid differentiating special organs, especially those corresponding to the Privy Council and government ministries, in order to highlight the unity and common lot of head and body.

Besides illustrating Sadler's egalitarian use of the body politic, his concise allusion to the figure also reflects the classical strategies for exordium mentioned by Antonius in Cicero's *De Oratore*. Antonius suggests that a "tactful" opening to speech ought to be "epigrammatic" and "appropriate to the case at hand" in order to "charm and attract the hearer straight away" (2.78.315). Aristotle had expressed the same points, using a simile with flute-playing to suggest that proems ought to establish the "keynote" (*Rhet.* 3.14.1; cf. *Inst. Or.* 4.1.58-60). The introduction should then be short and sweet, yet so pertinent to the matter that it sets off the main confirming points.³⁵ In accordance with these principles, Sadler punctuates the quick reference to the fabulous figure of the body politic ("her Majestie is the hed")—sweetening the matter by way of metaphor—with a moral sentence ("that which is good for [the head] can not be evill for th' [whole]"), one previewing the principle arguments of the speech. The epigrammatic close to the preamble sums up the key cause of the oration, that is, to examine the country's dependence on its head, whose own dependence on the body, by way of debate over the

³⁴ For an extended discussion of how the "Fable of the Belly" is politicized in rhetorical discourse, see Wayne Rebhorn, *The Emperor of Men's Minds* (1995), 222-231. The predominance of *scholia* encouraging fellowship leads me to disagree with his assessments that the fable was primarily used to reinforce the "status quo" hierarchy.

³⁵ Cicero in *De Partitione* notes that a brief exordium is especially appropriate for deliberative oratory (28.97; cf. *Inst. Or.* 3.8.10).

Commons' subsidy, had heretofore been the primary subject of earlier speeches.

Confirmation: Preserving and Profiting the Body Politic (and Its Soul)

After establishing his *ethos* as speaker for the common interest, sovereign and subjects alike, Sadler goes on to present arguments on the subsidy itself. The body of his speech, like the preamble, revisits the previous day's issues. Sadler's oration reminds the audience of matters already broached by Rogers, Cecil, and Baeshe regarding various military fronts (France and Ireland). Yet Sadler does not simply rerun his colleagues' orations. What stands out in the body of Sadler's subsidy speech is his divergence from a routine rhetorical mode adopted by Privy Councilors: authoritative and officious. As noted above, many of their orations provide a matter-of-fact account of the Crown's financial needs for the purposes maintaining the military, listing ports and forts and reckoning campaigns. Some do go further in evoking emotions. Much further. Beyond simply itemizing necessary military expenditures, for example, Walter Mildmay's speeches for subsidy present a lively and striking picture of the threats to England. In fact, he is recorded as speaking for extended periods on both the "open" and "seacrett" threats to the commonwealth, all to drum up enough fear in the Commons to make the refusal of subsidy seem a "negligente" act allowing "so darke a cloude of perill like to fall uppon us" (*PiPE* 2:178-180; cf. 2:119-210, 272-276, and even after destroying the Spanish Armada, 434-438). Sadler's arguments take rather a middle road between officiousness and sensationalism. That road, as we shall see, follows the well worn path trod out by classical rhetoricians, a path lit by a few key persuasive topics considered essential for coming to a deliberative decision by way of ethical reasoning (i.e., without

undue influence from the passions).³⁶

While the classical rhetorical handbooks do not present a monolithic vision of deliberative speaking, there is striking concordance among them on the special topics particularly appropriate for persuading an audience towards a future course of action. As noted in the first chapter and outlined in the supplemental diagrams, the topics of *honor* (the end *honestum*) and *expediency* (*utilitas*) repeatedly come up in the classical teaching of deliberative speaking, which essentially draw upon pseudo-Stoic moral philosophy, another key subject of grammar school curricula. One other topic repeatedly turns up, that is, *safety* (*tuta* or *incolumetas*), which in the *Ad Herennium* and Cicero's *De Inventione* appears as one branch under *utilitas*. Significantly, *Ad Herennium* opposes safety to honor, while Cicero (in his youthful rhetoric) separates honor entirely from *utilitas*, pairing safety instead with power. These comparative estimations of deliberative topics reflect a common point of discussion for rhetoricians and moral philosophers alike (e.g., *De Or.* 2.82.334-335), a discussion with which Renaissance thinkers were eager to engage, especially in their own rhetorical textbooks.³⁷

As we shall see, Sadler draws upon each of these three deliberative topics (honor, profit, and safety), and he orders them in his argument more along the lines of later works in the Ciceronian corpus. To understand Sadler's ordering of arguments, we should first observe that *safety*, which I have already noted to be a special topic for subsidy speeches

³⁶ Classical rhetoricians did certainly advocate appeals to *pathos*, especially by way of amplified style, but their emphasis on the invention of arguments tended to imply that fear-mongering was effective only for addressing the rabble—a point we will return to in a moment.

³⁷ Thomas Wilson, for instance, meditates on the relative worth of honor and profit in his teachings on deliberative rhetoric in his *Arte of Rhetorique* (77, Medine ed.). John Rainolds does likewise in his Oxford lectures on Aristotle's *Rhetoric* (237-247).

in particular, pertains to another topic emphasized by Cicero as important for deliberative speech, that is, *necessity*. Interestingly, Aristotle claimed that the topic of necessity could be used, rather, to delimit the realm of rhetoric, since, “As to whatever necessarily exists or will exist or is impossible to be or to have come about, on these matters there is no deliberation” (1.4.2), a point revived by Quintilian (3.8.22-25). Yet Cicero, even in his youthful *De Inventione*, recognizes by contrast that sometimes “necessity has to be explained either with reference to honour . . . or with reference to security” (2.57.173). Although young Cicero shows himself still impressed by his Stoic doctors in *De Inventione*, claiming “the greatest necessity is that of doing what is honourable”—an idealism praised (yet not followed) by subsequent rhetoricians (*Inst. Or.* 3.8.1), his later treatments of these deliberative topics reveal a rhetorical strategy seasoned by political experience and republican crises. In the later *De Partione Oratoria*, Cicero remarks, “necessity is something that is an indispensable condition of our security or freedom—it must take precedence in public policy of all the remaining considerations, alike of honour and of profit” (24.83).³⁸ This *real-politick* assertion echoes one of the more pragmatic parts of the pseudo-Stoic moral philosophy Cicero presents in *De Officiis*, which was translated in Nicholas Grimalde’s 1556 text thus: “But if anie necessitie of this dutie [filling empty coffers] shall happen vpon any commoneweale: . . . ther must be giuen a diligence, that all men may vnderstand: that if they will bee in safetie, they must obey necessitie” (140; 2.1120-1126). Interestingly, one “Mr Symnell” draws on this passage in

³⁸ The text just before this passage sounds a little like Aristotle’s *Rhetoric* on the subjects of necessity and possibility, yet the subsequent passages show that Cicero in this text treats necessity as the key deliberative topic, since he proceeds to develop a heuristic for determining what really is necessary, knowledge that Aristotle accepts as given to, not deduced by, orators.

a 1601 speech to the Commons, specifically in regards to the issue of subsidy: “I am not agaynst this acte of substedie, ffor ffarre be it ffro me/ that any such thought should harbor in my harte, ffor I am of that oppinyon which Cicero, the ffamous, orator, was of, that whoesoever will lyve in safetye must abyde necessitye” (5 Dec. 1601; *PiPE* 3: 436). Symnell here echoes not just the Tully he encountered in grammar school, but also his Parliamentary forerunner, Sadler.

Though Sadler invokes honor and profit later in the speech (as we shall soon see), the topic of necessity serves as the foundation of his arguments confirming that subsidy is the proper course of action. This stance he announces immediately after the preamble:

Surely in my poure opynyon there was never greter cause whie we shulde graunte a subsidie: the necessitee of the tyme did never more require it. For we see that the whole worlde, our neighbours round about us a long tyme have ben and yet be in armes, in hostilite and in grete garboyle. Onelie we rest here in peax and quyetnes, thanks be to God therfore and the good government of the Queen’s Majeste. Mary it is a poynte of wisdom in the tyme of peax to provide for the warre; when we see our neighbours’ houses on fyer it is wisdom to provide and forsee how to kepe the smoke and sparkes of the same as farre from our owne as we can. The principall and chief cause of this hostilite and garboyle abroad is for the matier and cause of religion. (*PiPE* 1:141)

Sadler’s explicit invocation of “necessitee” may appear artless—but that assessment assumes the key role of rhetoric as an art involves obscuring poor reasoning, rather than presenting sound reasoning most effectively for the particular occasion and audience.³⁹ What better way for Sadler to maintain his egalitarian ethos among the Commons than to state his supporting argument plainly first, then to reinforce it with an equally accessible metaphor (i.e., the burning home), one close to the audience’s more familiar domestic

³⁹ Antonius in Cicero’s *De Oratore* suggests that orators in the Senate avoid “suspicion of a display of talent [i.e., art],” such as might be appropriate for a truly “public meeting,” that is, one including a broad collection of the masses (2.82.333).

life? The household, after all, represented the primary locus of decision-making for Elizabethan males, regardless of social class, and had been used as analogue for managing entire commonwealths since Socrates.⁴⁰ In keeping with his sententious preamble, the whole rationale behind Sadler's call for necessary action reflects commonsense proverbial wisdom: where there is smoke, there is fire; where there is threat of fire, preventative measures are *necessary*.

Beyond invoking a sense of urgency, however, Sadler crafts his argument such that the audience will not simply panic at the fuming sparks (Mildmay's forte), but rather so that they will focus on determining the reasonable action to contain the fire. To further this diagnostic approach, Sadler immediately jumps from noting the immediate threat, to considering relevant causes, both why the conflagrations burn on the continent and why England had thus far remained safe. Sadler identifies the cause of the latter as "the good government of the Queen's Majeste," thereby furthering the logic of mutual interdependence between the head and the whole commonwealth—this time reminding the audience of their reliance on the head (notice once again the omission of the head's ministerial organs). As for the cause of Europe's wars, Sadler invokes a separate topic

⁴⁰ Aristotle begins his *Politics* by evaluating earlier comparisons between the household and the commonwealth. As editor Carnes Lordes notes (first footnote to text of *Politics*), both Plato and Xenophon wrote dialogues in which Socrates asserts the same comparison, the former in *Statesman*, the latter in *Oeconomicus*, which was published in English translation at least three times during the sixteenth-century (see *EEBO*). While Aristotle's *Politics* was not a staple of basic education, it would probably be studied at university or in the Inns of Court, given Fortescue's frequent references to it. In any case, Aristotle's views on the connection between household and polis were recapitulated in Latin grammar school texts, for instance, in Cicero's *De Officiis*, which appears to repeat the principles in *Politics* 1.5; Grimalde's translation: "the first fellowship is in verie wedlock; the next, in childern: and after that, one house, and all thinges common. An this is the original of a citie and as it were the seedplotte of a commonweale" (1.785-788).

close to the hearts of many MPs: *religion*. As we shall see, Sadler aims to show that Elizabeth is the preserving cause of both peace (i.e., safety) and right religion in England. In logical terms, the loss of this cause (i.e., Elizabeth) means a breakdown of the system, that is, the Protestant commonwealth in England.⁴¹

In Sadler's view, the point of debate—the reason why fellow MPs in the Commons have expressed resistance to granting subsidy—appears to be Elizabeth's role in guaranteeing England's physical and spiritual safety: the majority of the Commons, at this early point in her reign, see her as a temporary stopgap to Catholicism (hence their interest in marrying her and identifying a Protestant successor), not a true defender of the faith. They cannot depend upon her for their safety. To recast Elizabeth in a more active, efficacious, and regal role, Sadler first gives a face to the threat she opposes. This threat he depicts in a stereotypical rant against the common “enemyes and adversaries of Godde's gospell”: “those prynces of that popish confederacie” and the professors of the “Romishe religion,” who are all to blame for the current conflicts. But rather than bring this threat directly home to the audience, reminding them, for instance, of the intestine violence under Mary's reign, he rather chooses to contraposition the enemy directly with Elizabeth, whom he labels the gospel's “chief patronesse and protectrix,” not just in

⁴¹ *Cause* is traditionally treated under logical topics in classical treatises on dialectic and logic (e.g., *Topica* 25.58-27.65), but Cicero does provide a substantial explanation of the topic of causality under his treatment of deliberative oratory, a sensible point of elaboration, given the need to argue causation in justifying future action. In fact, Cicero's treatment of *necessity* in *De Inventione* shows that he views the topic along the lines of identifying an essential cause for the desired result, whether it be *advantage*, *honor*, or *safety* (2.57.170-175); compare this treatment with that of Rudolph Agricola *De Inventione Dialectica*, as treated by Mack in *Renaissance Argument*, 156-8. In *De Partitione Oratoria*, Cicero specifically identifies *cause* as a topic that deliberative orators need to consider for demonstrating the efficacy of a proposed action (26.93-94).

England, but among “all princes protestauntes.” Even where he reminds listeners of the threat from “English papistes,” he does not bring the dangers directly to the individual household, projecting in detail what *might* happen in England (cf. Mildmay’s above-cited speeches), but rather continues to emphasize the central role of Elizabeth, whom even the enemy recognizes as a primary obstacle to their goals:

In dede Englonde, the Queen’s Majeste is the onelie and greatest marke which the adversaries of Godde’s gossell do shote at, and therefore her Majeste had never greater cause, never more nede to arme herself, to make herself strong and to furnish her coffres with treasure, whereby she may be the more able to defende her realme and subiectes and to incounter and mete with the malice of her enemyes. (*PiPE* 1:142)

Sadler’s spotlight on Elizabeth can be contrasted with his Council colleagues’ focus on individual military expenditures. Given that the previous day’s call for subsidy evoked suspicion of expenses accrued by Crown ministers, Sadler’s refocus on the Queen’s person reminds the audience of Elizabeth’s position as head of state and royal power. While the defense ministers are metonymically referenced in “the nede to arme herself,” Sadler identifies Elizabeth as the figurative bearer of arms, a symbolic conceit that nonetheless reflects the institutional division of labor in England’s constitutional monarchy. The old war hero here calls on fellow MPs to outfit and ornament their warrior queen: he calls on the body politic to furnish and ensconce its royal head.

Having thus established the Queen as essential “protectrix,” Sadler next connects this supporting conceit explicitly to his original proposition about the necessity of royal subsidy, effectively linking the middle term (Elizabeth as *warrior* queen) to the major premise with which he began his *confirmation* (it is necessary to provide for *war* even in time of peace). Once again, he ornaments this logic with a reminder of *religion*:

This I doubte not all wise men do evydently and playnely see; and if there were none other cause then this, surely it were sufficyent to perswade us willingly to condisce to graunte of a subsidye, as I doubt not but such as be zelous to advaunce the glorie of God and his gospell, such as do love the Queen's Majeste and their countrey, will in these daungerous days shew themselves liberall and willing to departe with a small porcion of their goodes such as they may well forbere, for to resiste and impugne the malice of the enemyes of Christe's ghospell which do daylie ymagyn and seke the utter ruyn and distruction of all the trew professors of the same. If there were no other cause I say but this it were sufficient to require a subsidie. (*PiPE* 1:142)

Sadler here sounds as though he is giving his own moral for the "Fable of the Belly," but without the sugarcoating metaphor. Though the Commons have power in Parliament (hence the call to "condiscende" to subsidy), the sensible course for sustaining "trew" religion in England is to acknowledge the necessary link to the Crown. As Fortescue noted decades earlier, the royal power protected the commonwealth, even if the English sovereign required approval of the Commons to receive extra funds to implement that protection (see first chapter). Given this interdependent relationship, the *necessary* action appears as obvious as the commonsense moral to Aesop's fable: for England's survival, the Commons should furnish the Crown, just as the arms and hands should feed the belly.

The rest of the *confirmation* similarly follows classical rhetorical doctrine. Echoing Cicero's more practical position, Sadler insists that the safety of the country should be "cause . . . sufficient" for action. Yet that is not where he leaves his argument. As if he were checking off a shortlist of prescribed deliberative topics, Sadler turns next to demonstrating the subsidy's *utilitas*. This topic tends to be translated variously as "expediency" and "advantage" by modern editors of classical rhetorical handbooks.

Sadler's contemporaries often translated it rather as "commodity" or even "profit."⁴²

These latter translations better reflect Sadler's usage. Whereas the topic of necessity had been connected to the conflagrations in Europe, especially France, this topic Sadler connects to the other military matter mentioned by Cecil the day before: Ireland.

And yet is there another cause of gret moment, of grete importaunce, and that is the matier of Irelande which hathe ben well remembred here. In dede the Queen's Majeste and her noble progenitors of long tyme have ben at gret charges in Irelande whereof hitherto they have had small profite or commodyte; and yet of force her Majeste must contynew, yea rather increase the charge if she will reape any frute or commodytte thereof, the onelie way whereunto is to subdue and bring that lande to civilite and obedience. And [who] will not gladly contribute and bere a burden to so good an ende and purpose? If that lande may be made civile and obedient, if the people there which now be barbarous, wilde and savage, lawles without law or iustice, if they may be brought to the knowledge of God and of his worde and of their dueties to their prince and sovereigne, and so to lyve civile and obedientlie under law and iustice, no doubt but as they must nedes increase and growe therby into welth and quyetnes, so then in stede of the gret charges which the princes of this realme have alwaies susteyned for the stay of the lande in obedience, gret profite and a good yerelie revenue will arrise and grow to the crowne of Englonde. (*PiPE* 1:142)

Sadler presents the Irish campaign as an ongoing investment of the Tudor household.

Though not yet profitable, the project can ultimately reclaim sunk costs once the island is brought "to civilite and obedience." After Elizabeth establishes its control of the province, new "revenue" will eventually come to the Crown. All in the lower house knew Sadler's implication: by funding this campaign, the Crown's ordinary sources of income would increase, thereby making the request for extraordinary moneys, that is, occasional Parliamentary subsidies, less frequent. Thus, "profite" and "commodyte" for the sovereign indeed meant fewer taxes in the future for the common subjects.

⁴² See editor O'Gorman's glossary for Grimalde's translation of Cicero's *De Officiis*, s.v. "commoditie," "commodities," and "profit."

But in Sadler's view the profit from conquering Ireland goes beyond financial wealth. Indeed, Sadler once again connects his classical *topos* to the contemporary concern for religion. According to Sadler, the spiritual gain takes precedence over the financial one. The "barbarous" people will first "be brought to the knowledge of God and of his worde and of their dueties to their prince." Although this latter military expenditure is not seen as particularly necessary for sustaining England's Protestant commonwealth, there is potential for spiritual benefit in expanding England's religious authority, which is something that reforming MPs would have thought good in itself, monetary gains notwithstanding.⁴³

Besides simply noting Sadler's textbook invocation of *necessity* and *profit* in accordance with classical rhetorical doctrine, we should pause to recognize the extent to which they govern his mode of speaking, in spite of the repeated reference to *religion*, a

⁴³ In ancient and contemporary orations serving as models for Renaissance orators, the barbarism of a particular person or nation is routinely cited to wage the "just war," even to break treaties. In his third oration moving Athens to support the Olynthians against Philip of Macedon, Demosthenes asks (according to Thomas Wilson's translation), "Is not [Philip] a barbarous and outlandish Prince?" (F.i^f). Likewise, MP Thomas Norton's translation and publication of four historical speeches in 1560 all concern the issue of whether to wage war or maintain the peace, a matter of some exigency in the early years of Elizabeth's reign. Three of the speeches concern the recent struggle in Eastern Europe between George Castriot (Scanderbeg) and the Turks. In one, the Venetian ambassador entreats Castriot to break his treaty with the Turks since the Turks armed themselves and attacked the Venetian state: "Behold Prince Scanderbeg, how well the barbarous Turke kepeth promise with you" (G.iii^f); likewise, in a separate speech to Castriot, the Archbishop of Durasso notes Turkey is the "worst of all barbarous nations" (I.i^f). In both Wilson's selection from Demosthenes' corpus and in Norton's selection of contemporary speeches, the orators emphasize the false words of the "barbarous" princes. We should note that rhetoricians in ancient Rome, as recorded by Quintilian in his first book, transfer the original meaning of "barbarous" as simply "foreign," to one particularly associated with the corruption of proper Latin usage. It seems that Sadler extends it to the corruption of Gospel as well.

persuasive topic rarely observed by classical rhetoricians.⁴⁴ On one hand, the classical deliberative topics were drilled into all Renaissance students receiving a modicum of grammar school education and rhetorical instruction. The concepts of honor, profit, and necessity were not only raised in rudimentary rhetorical texts, which tended to be taught in upper forms and at the beginning of university study, but they were also key subjects of simple conduct books taught alongside Aesop earlier in formal education. Cicero's *De Officiis*, as discussed in the first chapter, was commonly assigned to grammar school. This text, like all the classical treatments of deliberative oratory (Cicero's *De Partitione* excepted), divides the subject of honor into the four cardinal virtues: *wisdom*, *justice*, *courage*, and *temperance*. Significantly, one of *De Officiis*'s primary points of instruction (the focus of the entire third book) concerns the relative weights of honor and profit in making ethical decisions. Cicero's teachings in *De Officiis* tend towards the idealism of his earlier rhetorical text *De Inventione*, emphasizing the pursuit of honor—the third key deliberative *topos*—in favor of profit (though perhaps not at the cost of survival). In a moment we shall see how Sadler finally invokes honor in his speech. For now we might simply note that he chooses for his central *confirmation* to focus on classical deliberative rhetoric's much less ethereal *topoi*, *necessity* and *profit*, even though most in the audience would associate them, especially the latter, with base worldly matters, rather than with virtuous living. The Renaissance instructors had, after all, drilled into their students

⁴⁴ In *De Inventione*, Cicero mentions “religion” (*religio*), alongside “duty, gratitude, revenge, reverence, and truth,” under his discussion of justice and the other three cardinal virtues: “Religion is that which brings men to serve and worship a higher order of nature which they call divine” (2.53.151)—this is the extent of the treatment. Similar references to the gods appear in Aristotle and other Ciceronian texts, but only as subordinate concepts, not as the central topic for deliberative reasoning (*Ad Her.* 3.3.4; *De Part.* 25.88).

Cicero's repeated assertion that honor should be the primary end of deliberative speech, and the contemporary commentaries on ancient oratory reflected this prioritization.⁴⁵

This brings us to the other hand: the predominant role of religion in early modern civic life and the church's influence on moral instruction, whether taught in conjunction with ancient authors and the classical concepts discussed above or strictly according to overarching religious doctrine. Not only were many ancient authors Christianized in some form or another, made fit to teach in English grammar schools through moralizing glosses, but the common citizens were also compelled to attend church services (in one form or another) containing moralizing commentary in the form of sermons on biblical passages.⁴⁶ Given the ubiquitous presence of the church in early modern English culture and formal education, religious doctrine, not surprisingly, provided alternative ethical topics relevant for advising individuals on the proper course of action. Beyond the four

⁴⁵ John Rainolds, in his Oxford Lectures on Aristotle's *Rhetoric*, chastises Aristotle's placement of "expediency (*utilitas*)" as the end of deliberative speaking and supports Cicero's prioritizing of honor (235-237). Likewise, Thomas Wilson, in his dedication (to William Cecil) of his English translation of Demosthenes (see above), emphasizes this ancient orator's advancement of virtue over his efficacy in swaying the audience: the dedication begins, "Great is the force of Vertue (Right Honorable Counsellor) to wyne loue and good will" (*op. cit.* *ⁱ), which statement we might contrast with the emphasis on the power of eloquence typically identified in Wilson's treatments of oratory and rhetoric. Later in the text, Wilson explains the interest his mentor, John Cheke, had in Demosthenes: "he sawe him to be the perfitest Orator that euer wrate for these two thousand yeares almost by past . . . and also for that he perceyued him to haue before his eyes in all his Orations the aduancement of vertue as a thing chiefly to be sought for, together with the honor and welfare of his countrie" (*op. cit.* *.iⁱ).

⁴⁶ Wilson's *Art of Rhetorique*, for instance, Christianizes the orator-centered creation myth in Cicero's *De Inventione*. Likewise, the 1502 edition of Aesop's fable of the belly moralizes on gluttony by invoking the Gospel of John: "Non in solo pane vivit" [E.iii^v]). For a discussion of the practice of sermonic and didactic speaking on scripture see Peter Blench, *Preaching in England in the Late Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (1964); Patrick Collinson, *The Elizabethan Puritan Movement* (1967); Paul S. Seaver, *The Puritan Lectureships: The Politics of Religious Dissent 1560-1662* (1970).

cardinal virtues, more eschatological topics—God’s judgment and God’s providence, for instance—became prominent in general discussions of moral reasoning and persuasive discourse, much of which draws upon religious doctrine dictating moral principles (see, for instance, the speech analyzed in the next chapter).⁴⁷ Without a clear demonstration of religious implications, then, many in a respectable Renaissance audience would find little impetus for action, especially on matters burdensome to local constituencies. By invoking religion, Sadler draws upon the chief source of contemporary moral reasoning outside that presented in classical philosophical texts and rhetorical treatments of the special topics. He thereby taps into a powerful motive force for most of his audience.

But Sadler’s strategy of confirmation demands more careful scrutiny: He invokes religion primarily as a *cause of conflagration*, not the chief *motive for action*, even though he must know religion’s motivating force. Significantly, he never points to a city on the hill or the sword of judgment in the course of persuading his audience, referring to “God’s gospel” only as litmus test for distinguishing England’s friends (Elizabeth and the other Protestant princes) from its enemies (the papists and professors of the “Romish religion”). Simply transpose the enemies with the friends and these confirming arguments would work equally well to rattle sabers *for* the Pope. Sadler, moreover, omits the more spiritual classical topics, especially *courage* and *temperance*, two of the four cardinal virtues that are commonly used to call both Protestants and Catholics to persevere trials of faith. Quite the opposite strategy is taken by Sadler. Rather than use Christian doctrine to amplify classical moral principles (e.g., by citing complementary biblical passages or

⁴⁷ God’s providence proves quite effective for arguing against action. Elizabeth, for instance, argues against subjects petitioning her to marry that such a matter is in God’s hands (*Works* 56-60). For more on God’s providence, see next chapter.

by invoking God's final judgment), Sadler moderates the persuasive force of the religious *topos* by emphasizing classical deliberative rhetoric's most pragmatic and, as the case may be, mercenary topics. By organizing his points around *necessity* and *profit*, rather than *honor* and *conscience* (as the next chapter's speech does), Sadler creates a controlled burn that he hopes sufficient to stave off the greater holocaust in Europe, all the while warming domestic efforts in Ireland so that they may come to some fruitful end.

Indeed, Sadler's speech shows us how the subject of religion could be raised in a civic venue as a purely political argument—as a non-dogmatic persuasive topic—one that adds an extra motivating spark to issues already broached, albeit without actually engaging in the controversy stoking the fire. Sadler subsumes religious concerns (*res divina*) entirely under those of the nation-state (*res publica*). I would argue that this is a key strategy of Sadler's confirming points: to use the audience's common religious interests to push for subsidy, yet without raising religious issues themselves.⁴⁸ Elizabeth had for years tried to prevent religious debate in the Commons by asserting her own prerogative on such matters. These pressures from above (to cool down debate) and from below (to heat it up) explain at least part of the risk incumbent on Privy Councilors moving the Crown's agenda.⁴⁹ If genuine religious issues somehow replaced civic issues

⁴⁸ Compare Sadler's strategy with the *Rhetoric ad Herennium*'s advice on how to focus a deliberative oration: "a question under deliberation is sometimes to be examined on its own account . . . [o]r sometimes a question becomes one for deliberation and inquiry on account of some motive extraneous to the question itself. . . . In those in which an extraneous motive gives rise to the deliberation, it is this motive which will have to be emphasized or depreciated" (3.2.2). As noted above, Cecil and Rogers had already presented the reasoning supporting subsidy as a means to security, only to have their own motives called into question. Sadler now depreciates the Privy Council's motives as vested government ministers, and appreciates religion as a motive force.

⁴⁹ Sadler, like Cecil—but unlike zealously Protestant rhetorician Wilson—was

in House business, Elizabeth would surely call her Council to answer for it, just as she would were Parliament to end with no subsidy. In this particular Parliament, such a rhetorical strategy comes only after Councilors perceive their proposed action to be jeopardized, as was apparent from the previous day's dissent. Not insignificantly, the arguments recognizing Elizabeth as *martial* figurehead of a Protestant commonwealth overwhelm the connected implication that she is also head of the Church of England, a role that Elizabeth herself tended to highlight, in order to silence overzealous reformers in the Commons.⁵⁰

Refutation: Equity and the Ordinary Distribution of Extraordinary Burdens

Sadler's emphasis on the classical deliberative topics of necessity and profit in his *confirmation* produces one other salient result beyond turning the hot, common concern over religion into a relatively cool, civil subject: the approach helps him further sustain his unprivileged ethos. The classical topics serve as *moral commonplaces*, where other Crown ministers relied on the *special knowledge* of their privileged positions. By giving officious details, the other Privy Council members were not raising issues for debate, but rather presuming that their authoritative position and expert accounting would quell

able to remain in England throughout both the reigns of Protestant Edward VI and Catholic Mary without noteworthy adversity to his social status, quite a feat for one active in government since Henry VIII. If anyone knew how to treat religion as purely a political subject, Ralph Sadler did. Walter Scott quotes Lloyd's *State Worthies*: "[Sadler] learned in king Henry the Eighth's time . . . what he must advise (in point of religion) in Queen Elizabeth's time, as an eminent counsellour: His maxim being this, that zeal was the duty of a private breast, and moderation the interest of a publick state" (xxxvii).

⁵⁰ Note Elizabeth's portrayal of herself as "head" in her "Prayer for the Whole Kingdom and Body of the Church According to Their Estates and Members" (*Works* 146-149). She asks help to recognize a prince's "duty of just obedience [to God], so that there will be a good and holy union between the head and the members" (147).

dissent. Sadler, by contrast, does not foreground his membership in Elizabeth's inner circle. As just outlined, his key confirming arguments rework the materials of the other ministers into a popularized form, carefully linking the previously declared details to the two key systems for ethical reasoning commonly taught and referenced in early modern English culture (i.e., classical pseudo-Stoic values and reformation theology).

This measured invocation of the predominant cultural value systems allows Sadler to address the audience as reasonable people, people making decisions based on ethical principles. There are indeed places where classical rhetoricians treat the oratorical strategies for addressing the irrational mob. In those situations, classical rhetoricians call upon appeals to *pathos*, under the presumption that the ignoble rabble think like animals, pursuing pleasure and self-preservation in their basest forms (*De Or.* 2.82.337; *Part. Or.* 25.90-93; *Inst. Or.* 3.8.39-41; cf. Rainolds' lecture on *Rhet* 1.6.1-30 [347-365]). But even with Sadler's reference to threats from papists, he does not dwell upon them. In fact, he emphasizes that the threats are directed at Elizabeth's person, not the people themselves. It is by simple, folksy logic that he reasons before the audience that threats to the "head" of English Protestantism necessarily affect the whole commonwealth. And it is by straightforward discursive reasoning (linking major and minor premises) that he then connects the specific matter of subsidy for the head to the overall topic of national security. Such reasoning is typically taken for granted when Councilors call for subsidy to finance military matters. Sadler, however, presents the logic with no fog of privy details, nor with the brimstone of impending apocalypse. His argument is serious and principled without being zealous.

To complete such a respectful approach, however, Sadler must ultimately deal

with the key point against further supplying the sovereign's military campaigns, one that did indeed bear emotional overtones: the Commons were weary of paying for campaigns they did not themselves approve, an objection raised the day before Sadler's speech. Once again, Sadler draws upon the principle of the unified commonwealth, this time building upon the confirming points he has just presented. If the audience will accept the threat to the Queen as a threat to their spiritual and physical commonwealth, then they must also accept the corresponding "charge," which should be distributed throughout the body politic. What Sadler tries to overcome after his initial confirming points, then, is a more visceral objection reflecting the frustration of years of repeated "extraordinary" taxation for the Crown's campaigns. This counter-argument Sadler deals with head-on by drawing upon one of the chief strategies classical rhetoricians advocate for suppressing doubts on deliberative causes: references to previous "experience" or example (*Ad Her.* 3.5.9; *Part. Or.* 28.96; *De Or.* 2.82.335):

The charge is an extraordinary charge, and we be taught by experience that when princes be charged with such extraordinary charges they are inforced to seke extraordinarie wayes and meanes of ayde and relief. In such cases comenly they have recourse to the benevolence, good will and ayde of their good and lovyng subiectes, for their owne ordynarye revenues will do no more then bere their ordynary charges. The princes' ordynary revenues will not suffice nor extende to mayntene such extraordinarie charges. And therefore as of force her Majestie must be constreyned to seke som other way of relief either by way of subsidie, lone or other contribucion at th'andes of her good and lovyng subiectes, as all prynces in such cases are inforced to do, so we of duetie ought to have care and good consideracion of the same and gladlee and willingly to contribute and bere with her Majeste according to our porcions, according to our habilltees lyke good and loving subiectes. (*PiPE* 1:143)

Even against the emotional barrier of economic weariness, Sadler once more chooses to emphasize the logic of subsidy as a solution, more than the fear of impending threats.

And his reasoning here, once more, reflects the distributive principles communicated in his opening defense of his own equitable *ethos*. Sadler now reminds his audience that “extraordinary charges” on the “prince” (or the “head” of state ⁵¹) as “taught by experience,” should be recognized as ordinarily trickling down to the lower members of the commonwealth, the subjects. This account of the head and its members might be considered a corollary to Aesop’s fable: Just as every member in “ordinary” times contributes “according to [their] porcions [and] habilittees,” so in “extraordinary” times will those “good and loving subiectes” be expected to give beyond the norm in like degree. A special charge on the head demands a special charge on the whole in order for the body politic to survive.

But besides using “experience” to refute the opposing side’s resistance to subsidy, Sadler also turns more directly to ethical and emotional appeals.⁵² In particular, Sadler calls attention to the character of the audience by noting what “good and loving subjects” have done and would do in like circumstances. First, note that the ethical appeal here, in the motivation to do “good,” has no spiritual implications of good and evil following up on the *confirmation*’s reference to religion—God is dead by this point in the speech. The good citizen acts dutifully by taking on the extraordinary charge, not by advancing the

⁵¹ The Latin *princeps*, to which we can trace the English *prince*, is a compound of *primus* (first) and *ceps*, which is a suffix derived from *capio* (to seize, mentally or physically), a verb that at least one contemporary dictionary (Minsheu s.v. *capio*) suggests to be derivative of the Latin word for “head,” *caput*. Likewise, tenures issuing directly from the crown were held *in capite*, as Onslow reports in his disabling speech, a phrase which most assuredly derives from *caput*.

⁵² This strategy also constitutes a *de facto* appeal to the virtue of wisdom: “We shall be using the topics of Wisdom in our discourse . . . if we recommend some policy in a matter whose history we can recall either from direct experience or hearsay” (*Ad Herr.* 3.3.4). As noted below, this section begins Sadler’s appeal to *ethos* through the virtues.

Gospel. Such redirection is important given the inconvenient ethical implications of raising persuasive topics where *no* worldly benefits may come in the near future. The gains in acting by conscience of faith or piety come in the next life, but Elizabeth needed money immediately. Sadler prefers the audience rather to think in terms of worldly measures of morality, especially those involved in the classical concept of distributive justice, wherein goods and evils are allocated proportionally by earthly measures in timely fashion.⁵³

The second appeal to the audience's character has more emotional inflections. The call for the Commons to be "loving" citizens still draws upon the concept of "duty" to the sovereign, an ethical appeal, but it is one that evokes more directly the emotional power underlying that moral obligation. In particular, Sadler's appeal to loving devotion recalls those morals to the "Fable of the Belly" that point to "friendship" and "fellowship" as most important for a healthy body. As with these morals, Sadler's speech follows an account of the necessary duties incumbent upon members of the body politic with a more inviting recapitulation of what is being asked of them. Rather than call attention to dire outcomes of not acting, he presents the positive reinforcement of entering into a "loving" relationship with the Queen. Sadler had opened his speech by emphasizing the current—and extraordinary—peace within England, and he now reminds listeners of the extraordinary disposition required to sustain such concord.⁵⁴

⁵³ This distributive concept also appears in the *Ad Herennium*'s brief, opening definition of the virtue of justice: "Justice is equity, giving to each thing what it is entitled to in proportion to its worth" (3.2.3; cf. extensive list of sources in Caplan's footnote *e*).

⁵⁴ Cicero in *De Partitione Oratoria* observes that reminders of "love"—for the gods, country, and parents—are especially effective in amplifying the key points of the oration in closing a speech. He also suggests in the same place raising "moral

In Renaissance discourse, “duty” is closely connected with honor, the final persuasive topic Sadler has to check off in his primer for classical deliberative oratory. The title of Cicero’s *De Officiis*, which we have already mentioned as a key textbook on honor, was translated as *On Duties* by Grimalde, and we have already discussed its particular interests in weighing honor against profit in action, namely in acting dutifully. Honor, as we noted, above was commonly treated according to the four cardinal virtues of classical Stoicism. Sadler’s emphasis on proportional distribution of burdens clearly invokes the second virtue, equity or justice.

In fact, Cicero and other classical rhetoricians closely connect the virtue of justice with *fellowship*, the ethical concept at the heart of Aesop’s “Fable of the Belly.” In *De Officiis*, after briefly discussing wisdom, “the first fountain of duty,” Cicero expounds upon the preeminence of the second virtue: “But of the other three vertues remaining [after wisdom], that . . . extendeth fardest: wherein is conteined the felowshippe of men amonge themselves, and (as it wer) the enterpartening of mannes life” (1.281-286).⁵⁵ Under justice, Cicero not only discusses justice proper, “that no man hurt an other, onlesse he be provoked by wronge” (1.292-293), but he also treats “bountiefulnesse,” which concerns the spreading of goods according to certain ethical conditions, the last of which states “that to euerieman be giuen, according to his worthinesse” (1.634-632). And under bountifulness, Cicero goes on to discuss the concepts of friendship and love, the duties of which are founded on reciprocity, which in turn produce fellow feeling of

considerations, for instance respect for virtues and especially for those virtues that promote human fellow-feeling and generosity” (26.56).

⁵⁵ He actually divides this virtue in two: *justice* proper, “which is the greatest brightnes of vertue, whereof good men beare their name: and . . . bountiefulnesse, whichsame wee may terme either gentlenesse, or liberalitie” (1.288-291).

varying degrees, or the “knitting of men together” from wedlock to household to commonwealth (1.688-863).⁵⁶ Later in the text, where Cicero compares honorable versus profitable motives, he specifically addresses the potential conflicts of interest that may arise when one member of human society acts “to encrease his commoditie with an other mans discommoditie” (3.254-255). Such injustice ultimately proves unprofitable, a point that Cicero illustrates by reference to Aesop’s fable: “As if everie parte of the bodie should haue this imagination: to think, it might be strong, if it had conueyed to itself the strength of the next limes: of force it should folowe, that the holle bodie should be weakened, and perish” (3.262-265).

In *De inventione*, Cicero recapitulates the concepts more concisely for the benefit of the orator: “Justice is the habit of mind which gives every man his desert while preserving the common advantage (*communi utilitate*)” (2.53.160); it includes “the feeling which renders kind offices and loving service to one’s kin and country” (2.53.161). The writer of the *Ad Herennium* more directly translates these principles into rhetorical strategies:

We shall use the topics of Justice if we say that . . . it is proper to repay the well-deserving with gratitude; . . . if we urge that faith (*fidem*) ought zealously to be kept; . . . if we contend that alliances and friendships should scrupulously be honoured; if we make it clear that the duty imposed by nature toward parents, gods, and fatherland must be religiously observed . . . (3.3.4; cf. *De Part.* 25.88)

Although Sadler’s references to *love* and *duty* may sound at first like simple feudal fealty,

⁵⁶ In this section Cicero reiterates his principle that “reason, and speech” are the roots of humanity: “whiche by teaching, learning, conferring, reasoning, and iudging, winneth one man to an other, and ioineth them in a certain naturall felouship. Nor by anie thing further we differ from the nature of sauage beastes” (1.732-736). In this manner, the first virtue of wisdom is shared by speech and becomes bountiful, equitable action.

a call to respect hierarchies established in medieval times, rather than classical codes of conduct, the topics themselves are clearly connected to pseudo-Stoic ideas of justice, especially in regards to the call for “contribution” for the common good. Sadler here is not merely kissing the sovereign’s hand, but checking off the third key persuasive topic for deliberative oratory, that is, *honor*. His emphasis on this particular component of honor, that is, *justice*, only reflects his care in crafting a speech according to his original keynote, that is, the opening reference to the interdependent body politic, a figure highlighting the need for equilibrium among differentiated parts.

Peroration: Exhorting Common Councilors to Wisdom by Denying Exhortation

These appeals to honor in the refutation, besides correcting the complaints of the previous day’s dissenters, mostly by way of *ethos* and *pathos*, also lead into the final part of Sadler’s speech for subsidy. A peroration typically includes both ethical and emotional exhortation, an extra push beyond the reasoning in the body of the speech, in order to move the audience collectively towards the desired action (*Rhet.* 3.19.1-3; *De Or.* 2.76.311; *De Part.* 5.15, 15.53). Sadler focuses his closing on ethical topics. His final exhortation actually builds upon his recent invocation of duty and justice by turning finally to another of the four cardinal virtues, this time, “wisdom,” which he fittingly couples with further reference to the audience’s character.

I shall not nede to use any persuasions to move or persuade you thereunto: in dede, I will not go about to persuade you, the causes of themselves ar sufficient to persuade you, being men of wisdom and iudgement, men selected and chosen of the best and wisest sorte of the hole realm, such as can decerne and iudge moche better then I can what is fitte for good subiectes to do in this case. And therfore having by this my shorte speche uttered and declared myn owne affection to further this matier of subsidie

I leave it to your wisdoms and good considerations, trusting that every man here will shew himself aswell affected as I am to further the same and to do therein that which is fitte for good subiectes to do according to our duties. (*PiPE* 1:143)

Again, as in the previous chapter, an early modern oration exhibits what appears to be irony: after giving a textbook deliberative speech, one that draws explicitly upon the traditional persuasive topics taught in schools since ancient times and that orders the persuasive material into the traditional parts of a classical oration, Sadler paradoxically claims, “I shall not nede to use any persuasions to move” the audience to subsidy. I would argue nonetheless that the statement is meant to be taken at face value, in spite of its logical inconsistency. The final exhortation depends upon it. In order for the audience members to exhibit “wisdom and iudgement,” Sadler’s oration cannot be the primary cause of their action. Sadler’s closing statements help the audience reclaim their own honor and virtue, by denying his oratory.

In emphasizing wisdom in his closing exhortation, Sadler invokes, moreover, the *ethos* and ethics of Parliament as an institution. Parliament, as we have discussed, was ostensibly a meeting of common counselors, elected and more-or-less esteemed representatives brought together to provide advice to the sovereign. Sadler’s exhortation basically repeats the charter of the Commons House, identifying those present as “men selected and chosen of the best and wisest sorte of the hole realm, such as can decerne and iudge moche better then I can what is fitte for good subiectes to do in this case.” At the same time, he denies his own special office as Privy Councilor, choosing rather to position himself as just another member voicing his “owne affection to further this matier of subsidie.” As on the battlefield at Muscledorow, here Sadler leads by example, not by

authority. His final sentence does imply different duties for the members in the commonwealth, but it does not privilege any one above the others on this particular matter. Indeed, Sadler expects all “to do . . . that which is fitte for good subiectes,” no matter their stations in the realm. Even with his implicit reference to England’s hierarchical society (i.e., in “subiectes”), he treats the audience as independent decision makers, recalling well the paradigm of classical oratory in terms of the contemporary venue of deliberative speaking.

The Classical Form as Gesture towards Democratic Civil Society

I would argue that both the form and the content of Sadler’s speech on subsidy pay particular respect to the idea of Parliament as the “politic” means of executing crown actions by gaining popular consent. In contrast to the routine “reports” and “commands” presented by Councilors on issues receiving marked dissent, Sadler that day chooses to promote the subsidy bill by way of a classical deliberative oration, a form that was originally conceived to persuade social equals in common council. The form of the speech itself serves, then, as gesture to the audience, one acknowledging fellow MPs as having equal power within Parliament (and on the issue of subsidy, this may actually have been reality). Just as Richard Onslow and Nicholas Bacon followed certain traditional forms in their exchange at Parliament’s opening, in order to affirm (or reaffirm, as the case may be) certain historical prerogatives and privileges under England’s constitutional monarchy, so does Sadler invoke an even more commonly recognized form of deliberative persuasion to serve in itself as an affirmation of the Commons’ necessary role in Parliamentary decision-making. As we shall see in the next

chapter, such a form of oration, in spite of a great deal of instruction on it, was not necessarily typical even for common MPs exercising their voices in democratic fashion. Many, rather, viewed the occasion of Parliamentary speaking along the lines of other contemporary forms of oratorical practice, including scholastic disputation, legal wrangling, and public preaching (Mack, *Elizabethan Rhetoric* 218-220, 226-229).

Before coming to the voice of a truly common member, however, we should see what results come from the speech of this Privy Councilor. Our assessment is somewhat difficult, as shall become clear, due primarily to the complexities of the English Parliament as a venue for deliberative oratory, a venue that did not in fact reflect the focused debate so often portrayed in historical accounts of classical democratic institutions. Sadler's own recognition of his speech's inadequacy becomes clear in the fact that, despite having come to his peroration (marked in particular by "having by this my shorte speche uttered"), he still has more to say.

III. Managerial Rhetoric and the Negotiation of Silence: Sadler's Successive Speech

Unfortunately for Sadler, who probably prepared the comments on subsidy before the day's meeting in response to the previous day's debate, the traditional protocol within the House of Commons allowed multiple issues to be discussed at once. While not itself a problem (aside from the fact that other issues took up time), the multivalent business of the Commons also created the potential for issues to become intertwined. Had Sadler's speech been presented the day before (17 October), perhaps it would have moved the Commons to overlook immediately the skeptical comments presented by a few dissenters. But since Sadler's speech was delivered on this day following debate on

another “great cause”—the call for a declaration of succession—his well-marshaled deliberative arguments were insufficient in themselves to further the Queen’s subsidy for the nonce. The field of debate had widened beyond a single issue. Sadler had to adapt his finely crafted deliberative speech to circumstances that had only just shown themselves before he delivered his oration.

On the morning of Sadler’s speech (which came later in the day’s debate), John Molyneux, a member of Neale’s “puritan choir” (*EP* 1:137), moved that the Commons renew a “Suit” to the Queen for “Declaration of a Successor” (D’Ewes 124). Molyneux’s motion, as we might guess, reignited a preexisting controversy which remained unresolved for the simple reason that the person charged with taking the recommended action, Elizabeth, refused to follow the advice of either her Privy Council or Parliament, choosing instead to exercise her royal prerogative on the matter. No amount of persuasion appeared to move her, and she issued commands that none try. Molyneux’s defiance of those commands demonstrates in itself how members of the House of Commons, though perhaps moved by religious, not civic, zeal, nonetheless exercised their civic voice like famed heathen orators opining on the best course for the commonwealth.

But Molyneux’s motion proves more illustrative for helping us to understand those factors that caused oral debate to differ quite significantly in form from that conducted in the classical civic venues. For Molyneux does not simply make a speech arguing that the best course of action is to declare a successor—a strategy that had proved fruitless for seven years—rather, he makes a procedural recommendation: he moves that “the said business touching the Declaration of a Successor, and the Subsidy Bill might proceed together.” In effect, Molyneux suggests that the one bill on which the Commons

had first and final say, the subsidy, be yoked with a separate issue for which the Queen had last word, thereby insuring success for the Commons' cause. Given the popularity of the succession cause, it should not be surprising that the motion "was very well approved by the greater part of the said House" (D'Ewes 124).⁵⁷

This popular motion obviously thwarted the easy passage of the subsidy bill, which had already garnered more controversy than the Privy Council desired. Ralph Sadler's charge, following Molyneux's motion, became consequently more burdensome. Not only did he need to move the Commons back on track for giving a generous subsidy, a cause derailed by dissenters at the previous meeting, but he needed also to prevent the Commons from taking this new road (at least for this session), which had already been traveled to no avail and resulted in great distraction in previous Parliaments. To redirect the Commons towards the Privy Council's agenda then, Sadler actually delivers a second oration immediately after the classical oration just analyzed. In contrast to his speech arguing the necessity and profit of giving Elizabeth a subsidy, he delivers a decidedly less classical oration against Molyneux's procedural proposal. Ralph Sadler, in fact, stands out on this day in the Commons Journal as the last speaker and the only identified dissenter of Molyneux's motion before the next day, on which the rest of the Privy

⁵⁷ Elton seems alone in reading the Molyneux's motion as *not* proposing the issues be yoked together, but rather that they simply both proceed ahead at once; he is also alone in reading Molyneux as acting on the Council's behalf, supposedly in collusion with Sadler (*PoE* 365-367). See Alsop's critique of Elton's argument: "Reinterpreting the Elizabethan Commons" (1990), 224-5. Alsop's interpretation agrees with all pre-Elton assessments. D'Ewes reads the motion as a clear call for intertwining issues, and he did have one journal not extant to moderns. Neale seems to agree with D'Ewes and further supports this reading of the *Commons Journal* by noting the distinctive labeling of "Molyneux the mover" in a contemporary satirical account of the Parliament (*EP* 1:137). Hartley, finally, reads Molyneux as Sadler's foil (*PiPE* 1:120).

Council begin to intervene more directly (D'Ewes 124).

As we shall see, Sadler tries by way of speech to unyoke the subsidy bill from the suit for succession, a rhetorical excision that actually begins just before his first oration. Immediately before his speech “Touching the Subsidie” (the speech we have already heard), he makes this announcement, which in effect creates a division into two separate issues: “Touching these matiers which now be com in question amongst us I will with your favour in few woordes say my poure mynde and opynyon; ffirst I will speke to the matier of the subsidie which was first moved, and then to the others” (*PiPE* 1:141). Notice how Sadler prioritizes the subsidy, which he declares outright as “first moved,” at the expense of “others,” a term that not only diminishes to near insignificance the focused and zealous comments on succession given earlier that day—the only recorded debate of the meeting—but also asserts the Privy Council’s belief that the Parliament should only care about one issue for the moment. By setting a clear division between the “subsidie” and “others,” Sadler explicitly, in sentiment and rhetorical arrangement, refuses to go along with Molyneux’s motion to treat them together.

Below are Sadler’s full comments on the motion to treat succession and subsidy together; these remarks immediately follow his earlier peroration. While they could easily have taken the form of a classical dissuasive speech, highlighting the danger and inexpediency of declaring a successor—arguments that Elizabeth herself used in a message to the Commons later in the session (*Works* 93-98; *PiPE* 1:145-153)—Sadler rather argues against Molyneux’s proposal on the grounds of its procedural impropriety. The Privy Councilor hardly discusses the pros and cons of declaring succession itself, although he begins by offering a brief approbation of Molyneux’s proposed course *in*

theory, an ethos-building move, albeit one much less involved than his earlier preamble to moving for subsidy. This move essentially operates as conciliatory preamble to a succinct explanation for why Molyneux's motion is nonetheless inadvisable:

Now to th'other matier touching the succession. Surely I can not but moche commende the zelous and good mynde of him that hathe brought in here in question, and for myne owne / parte I wisshe and desire from the bottome of my herte that som good successe and effecte might folowe of it. And yet I am not of opynyon that it is fitte for us to deale with it at this tyme, specyally not to myxe or myngle it with the matier of the subsidie whereby we might seme as it were to condicyon and couvenante with her Majeste, as who wolde say, if her Majeste wil graunte us the one we will the more willingly graunte the other; this kynde and maner of condicyonyng with the prynce is not, I thinke, fitte for us to use, for thereby we shulde not onely extenuate and moche disgrace the frankenes and liberalitee of our graunte of the subsidie, but also I feare we shulde rather hinder then further the other matier which we so greatly wisshe for and desire. Th'other matier, the matier of succession, is a thing which I thinke we do all hunger and thirst for, but yet I see not how we can deale with it onles it cam from the Queen's Majeste. It is a matier farre out of our reche and compase and it were in vayne, yea, mere folie in us to deale with such matiers as we can not arreche. We ought to thinke that the Queen's Majeste and her nobilitee (whom it doth most chiefly concerne and belong unto) be not unmyndefull nor less carefull of it then we be. And yet if any gret cause hidden and unknowen to us do move her Majeste to stay and forbere to deale in it untill a better tyme and oportunyte may serve for the purpose, we ought to satisfie and content our selffes with it and to referre it hollie to her Majeste. Wherefore myn advise shalbe that we procede in the matier of the subsidie simplie, without condycyon, without myxing or mingling any other matier with it and that we do shew our selffes good and lovyng subiectes in the good expedicion of the same. And for the other matier concerning the succession, let us pray to God in whose handes the hartes of prynces are that it will please him of his infinite goodnes to dispose the harte and mynde of her Majeste so to consider of it and so to deale in it and in such convenyent and due tyme as may be not onely for her owne suretie but also for the suretie and quyetnes of her realme and subiectes. This is my pour advise: and if all men here knew asmoche as I do, I thinke they wolde the soner and the more easely be persuaded to be of myn opynyon. (*PiPE* 1:143-144)

The alternate rhetorical approach from that used to justify the subsidy rests on three perfunctory points, each of which reminds the audience of the *limitations* on the

Commons in Parliamentary decision-making, in direct contradiction to the concluding points of his earlier speech: First, he expresses his reservations about connecting succession to subsidy by how such a maneuver would be taken, as a form of “condicyon,” not by the merits of a declaring succession itself. The conditional approach would only taint the subsidy, which should rather show “love” and duty to the sovereign. Here the speech on succession recalls the closing refutation and exhortation in his speech for subsidy. The fact that Sadler actually desires “from the bottome of [his] herte” that Elizabeth declare succession, a cause he could no doubt argue eloquently—and did in a Council meeting (*PiPE* 1:87-89; cf. *EP* 144-5)—is beside the point. Sadler’s main interest as a Privy Councilor in the Commons is to keep the two issues apart, so that this Parliament does not set the precedent of legislating by negotiation with, as opposed to “love” for and “duty” to, the sovereign. Such a practice shifts in favor of the Commons the constitutionally established privileges and prerogatives of each estate.⁵⁸

The next point against Molyneux’s proposal builds upon these constitutional concerns. Sadler claims for the Queen her royal prerogative on the issue of declaring succession, something that Elizabeth had done for herself on the issue of marriage. According to Sadler, it was beyond the “reche and compase” of the Commons to address an issue so clearly determined by the monarch. In this respect, the call to declare succession was like the Commons’ earlier attempts in 1559 and 1563 to treat religious matters. The Queen was recognized to be the authority on these matters, and so it was the

⁵⁸ Although the idea that “contribution for retribution” was standard at this time is debated by historians (Alsop 225), we do know that James I found the Commons of 1610 to be “deal[ing] with [him] in the way of bargain,” that is, as businessman, rather than as king, by demanding “retribution” before “contribution” (*PiP-1610* 1: 20).

duty of “lovyng” subjects to wait upon her unilateral action. Significantly, the only invocation of the classical deliberative topics appears at the end of the speech, where, on a matter so far within the Queen’s prerogative, Sadler allows the assessment of “suretie” to be wholly under the Queen’s purview, and not open for debate. The only verbal suasion Sadler allows as possible is to “pray to God in whose handes the hartes of prynces are.”⁵⁹ Gone is the earlier conceit of interdependence between head and whole; it is replaced rather with bottom-up dependence alone. Sadler reinforces here the top-down hierarchical social system that places the feet at the mercy of the head of the commonwealth, whose direction an even higher power controls.

And finally, the third supporting point appears in this odd closing comment: “if all men here knew asmoche as I do, I thinke they wolde the soner and the more easely be persuaded to be of myn opynyon.” Instead of calling the audience to patriotic duty, he exhorts with an intrigue, one that reminds the audience that they really are not all equal subjects. As a Privy Councilor, Sadler has special knowledge of the Queen’s disposition and the state of the government, as was assumed in Cecil’s and Roger’s arguments for subsidy the day before. But while Sadler had eschewed this special status in his earlier speech for subsidy, effectively treating his fellow MPs as coequal, here he draws upon his privy position, or at least the assumption that he has some special insight, in order to quash discussion about succession.

When Sadler made this closing comment, he must have been assailed with demands to explain what he meant, for in the official *Commons Journal* the only details

⁵⁹ Compare Knollys’s comments in 1572 (*EP* 1:251; *PiPE* 1:325), which echo Sadler’s in arguing that prayer should be the Commons’ most efficacious use of voice in moving Elizabeth.

we have about the extended debate that followed Molyneux's motion (besides the oration found among Sadler's own papers), reveal the hope behind the intrigue:

[D]ivers Proposition and Reasoning ensued [after Molyneux's motion], this great business being once moved, although it should seem in the conclusion thereof, that the greater part of the House were resolved to recontinue the said Suit, and to know her Highness Answer: Although Sir Ralph Sadler Knight Banneret, one of her Privy-Council, had declared and affirmed unto the House, that he had heard the Queen say, in the presence of divers of the Nobility, that for the Wealth of the Realm, her Highness was minded to Marry. (Dewes 124)

Here we have another rich dose of irony, this time historical, given what we know about Elizabeth's long virgin reign. There appears also to be a bit of dramatic irony as well. Is not Sadler hinting at simply another form of "condicyon and couvenante," an unofficial promise that the queen would soon marry if the Commons would only hold their tongues? Coming from Sadler, a Privy Councilor, it is an under-the-table deal, mutually exclusive with (and much more desirable than) what had been proffered by Molyneux. Marriage, after all, was preferred, since, assuming Elizabeth eventually gave birth to an heir, succession would be "natural" and not simply "legal." Of course, this promise had already been hinted at on occasion by Elizabeth herself many times before. Delivered nearly eight years into her reign, the sales pitch sounds to modern ears more and more like an offer to buy the Brooklyn Bridge. Perhaps Sadler hoped that by presenting the promise as part of closed-doors discussions among the privileged he could convince enough Parliamentary hayseeds that the prospect was imminent.

The outcome of Sadler's duplex oration would seem to indicate failure. Sadler's exhortation to give a subsidy on the merits of necessity and profit was ineffectual, and his call to defer from treating succession as condition fell on deaf ears. Immediately

following his speech, the lower house decided to form a committee to further a petition for a declaration of succession. The next day (19 October) two other prominent members of the Privy Council, William Cecil and Francis Knollys, came in and gave stronger affirmation of the Queen's mind to marry, which was then reaffirmed by two other Councilors who "perswaded and advised to see the sequel of that, before they made further suit touching the Declaration of a Successor." The Commons nonetheless continued their predetermined course: "[A]gainst this Opinion [of the Privy Councilors] divers Lawyers of the House . . . did argue very boldly and judiciously. And so prevailed with the greatest part of the House, as that it was resolved, contrary to the foregoing Motion of those of her Majesties Privy-Council" (D'Ewes 124). Though the Speaker gave the Councilors room enough on the floor to make their case, the majority voice of the House spoke in another direction.

The last we hear of this day's proceedings comes in the form of a fairly feeble motion from William Cecil at the end of this day's debate, when he tries in vain to redirect the House back to the course it had followed in the two previous Elizabethan sessions of Parliament in regards to subsidy. Stuart journalist Simonds D'Ewes notes the irregularity of bringing up subsidy at this point, especially in the form chosen by Cecil:

M^r Secretary *Cecill* (seeing his former Motion could not prevail to stop the foregoing resolution of the House, partly, as may be conjectured, to divert it, and partly that the matter of supply might preceed it), made a Declaration of the Rates of the subsidy, and one fifteenth and a tenth, according to the proportion of that Subsidy which had been given in the first Session of this Parliament [i.e., 1563]. (D'Ewes 125)

Nothing comes of the motion, except perhaps a strong lesson for modern historians on the relative weight of a Privy Councilor's voice in the House of Commons. Here we have

arguably the most powerful man in Elizabethan England attempting by sheer will to move his audience in one clear direction. Though we hear him to be a capable orator on many other occasions, the rhetorical situation, which was determined by institutional procedure as much as by audience and issue (the *foci* of classic rhetoric), had no room for debate.⁶⁰ For three weeks no work was undertaken to advance the subsidy itself, and the Commons only angered Elizabeth further by continuing to raise an issue she had forbidden them to discuss. Sadler's dual speeches, like Cecil's feeble motions, seem neither to have successfully moved the audience to act on subsidy, nor to have dissuaded them from pursuing Elizabeth's declaration of succession.

In this episode we see clearly why Raleigh's Counsellour might be wary of Parliaments, where neither official power nor rhetorical skill can reliably manage the audience in the Commons to bring about the desired results. The institution of Parliament was historically established to allow for political solutions—politics here being closely tied to acting by way of popular approval, not simply managing popular institutions. Under those conditions political agendas were implemented by the custom and procedure of popular institutions, as much as (and sometimes much more than) by the speeches presented there.

That is not to say that oratory, whether classical or early modern in form and substance, was entirely impotent. Sadler's well-crafted arguments on subsidy may not have been completely ineffectual with the Commons. Rather, they do not have the same

⁶⁰ We have only one full oration recorded by Cecil, his "Fish-days" speech of 1563 (*PiPE* 1:103-107), but do have multiple notes and memoranda composed by him in preparation for public delivery (*PiPE* 2:22-25, 411-413, 429-433; Mack, *Elizabethan Rhetoric* 188-202). For what it is worth, the *Commons Journal* records Cecil as presenting an "excellent Declaration" for subsidy (20 Jan 1563).

effect, that is, the desired effect, that they might have had were they delivered during the previous day's debate. The point of dispute no longer concerned whether or not to give a subsidy, but, rather, whether the subsidy bill would be coupled with a demand that the Queen declare a successor—a matter of protocol, not deliberative decision-making *per se*. In fact, given the course of the day's debate, Sadler's speech on subsidy may well have proved a strong wind pushing the Commons in the direction preferred by the more zealous statesmen. Sadler's connection of the cause of subsidy to their religious concerns probably, to them, seemed truly auspicious (the governance of classical *topos* notwithstanding), for in the context of the day's discussion such a speech only validates the use of the subsidy as a bargaining tool for effectively pushing religious causes. In such a turbulent venue it is hard to control any volatile issue. As was the case with Onslow's ironic disabling speech, the immediate context of delivery determines the interpretation of arguments, no matter what the rhetorical doctrine prescribes or the orator intends. On the floor of the Commons, then, a speaker would need to be much more reactive, or at least more cautious about moment-to-moment contextual changes, than seems to be expected within the classical rhetorical doctrine or demonstrated in the classical deliberative orations passed down in history books.

Though Sadler ultimately tried to take the wind from the Puritan sails with his second speech, the effort appeared too little, too late. Even so, his points provided an interesting example of argument used to silence opposition, rather than simply counter it. In that strategy, Sadler adopts a concept of politics less egalitarian than that presumed by the classical rhetorical doctrine used in the first speech. His second speech does not entirely omit democratic principles, however. Instead it intertwines the two approaches to

managing the Commons, authoritative and politic (just as Molyneux had yoked the issues together), persuading the audience that they themselves should abate their own civic speech. More specifically, Sadler tries to convince the Commons that their time would be better spent discussing an issue not so clearly controlled by the Queen. After all, Parliament could only petition the Queen; they could not force her to do anything.

Based on this reasoning, however, Parliament would be an entirely moot exercise—no one in the room believed Parliament was so irrelevant, not even the most cynical Privy Councilors, many of whom found it expeditious to call Parliament as means of garnering popular support for controversial actions of the Crown (e.g., executing Mary Queen of Scots in 1587). Perhaps Sadler himself saw the flaw in this reasoning, or at any rate the likelihood that the clearly contentious MPs would disagree. This would explain why Sadler ultimately decided not to rely on the arguments themselves, but rather to leak privy information about Elizabeth's marriage inclinations, that is, to revert to a courtlier political ethic, one founded on special voice and status. By instilling hope for Elizabeth's marriage in the hearts of commoners (an eventuality that he may well have believed), he probably could silence the Commons on succession, thereby to proceed on subsidy without argument. This certainly seems the motivation for the Council's open announcement of heretofore secret marriage talk the day following Sadler's speech.

In the end, however, Sadler's ambivalence on the common citizen's duty to exercise civic voice may be what proved his fatal flaw. Whereas his opening remarks to his oration for subsidy proudly display his inability to sit silent with the commonwealth endangered, no matter the imputations naysayers assign to his motives, his closing remarks on succession somewhat contradictorily assert that certain matters demand

silence from dutiful subjects, who should rather await the decision of the prince. Perhaps Sadler would have been more successful had he himself suppressed his own speech on subsidy—which seems both to support the concept of free speech and also to fan the flames of Protestant zeal—and concentrated rather on dousing the firebrand voices backing Molyneux’s motion. Maybe he had a hard time setting aside his carefully honed reasoning for subsidy; maybe he was caught up in the infectious exercise of civic voice taking place in the debates before him. In any case, Sadler’s dual rhetorical efforts—though both succeeding ill, as Raleigh’s Counsellour feared—demonstrate for students of oratorical practice the procedural volatility of early modern Parliamentary debate, and consequently the limitations of speaking by the book when the audience was already on another page.

Chapter 4. A Citizen's Duty to Debate: Lambert's Looking Glass for All

Estates

Mr. Comptroller, and, after, Mr. Secretary, read, in Writing, Notes of the Queen's Majesty's Saying before the Lords and Committees; tending, that her Grace had signified to both Houses, by Word of a Prince, that she, by God's Grace, would marry, and would have it therefore believed; and, touching Limitation for Succession, the Perils be so great to her Person yet, whereof she had felt Part in her Sister's Time, that Time will not yet suffer to treat of it: Whereupon all the House was silent.

CJ, 6 November 1566

The closing sentence to this entry from the *Journal of the House of Commons* seems to depict a downtrodden demeanor for the lower house, a cowed reaction to the Councilors' report of Elizabeth's command not to debate the heretofore favorite cause of the session: a public declaration of her successor. Elizabeth had, in fact, *preempted* the completion of an official petition for that cause, a petition proposed by MP Molyneux nearly three weeks earlier (see previous chapter), a petition which the Lords had been convinced to sign (*EP* 1:141-144). The Lords had actually been at the forefront of a 1563 petition for Elizabeth to marry. The Commons now in 1566 assumed the vanguard in this revived effort to assure Protestant succession, if not by natural heir, then by legal. In a more significant divergence from the Lord's 1563 suit, however, the Commons also used the lay subsidy for the Crown as a negotiating tool, holding up its progress until they received some positive response from Elizabeth on either succession or marriage—preferably in the form of official acts. Instead of fulfilling the request, on 5 November, after the subsidy had remained dormant for over two weeks, she called thirty members of each house to her and delivered an oral rebuke. She ridiculed the Lords' "simplicity" in following the "unbridled" Commons and noted the impropriety of the latter's "order" of

proceeding in matters of such “gravity” (*Works* 94; cf. *PiPE* 1:146-149). She summed up the Commons’ froward acts by reviving the old figure of the body politic, declaring, “it is monstrous that the feet should direct the head” (98). Although this image of the body politic does not seem to have made its way into Cecil’s report of the Queen’s rebuke to the Commons (*PiPE* 1:152-3), the gist of her speech appears to have been firmly impressed upon them, because silence on the matter was Elizabeth’s aim.

Yet, as J. E. Neale has noted, the end of the *Journal* entry for 6 November is a “pregnant sentence” (*EP* 1:151), for the Commons soon show they have more appetite for debate on succession than Elizabeth could have estimated from previous Parliaments (cf. *PiPE* 1:58-65). True, the subject was not broached the following day (7 November), in seeming acquiescence to the Queen’s command. Instead, the Speaker read bills for more mundane public works projects, one for a port (“Hartlond”), one for a free grammar school (“Suthwerke”), and one for a hospital (“Gloucester”). And the following day started tamely enough, with a reading for two bills, one “for Wearing of Caps upon Holidays, and not hats” and another “touching Tanners, and Cutting of Wombes.” But then the *Journal*, in its officious manner, gives evidence of the lower house’s backsliding into controversy, a return to form prompted by a single member’s speech: “Mr. Lambert began a learned Oration, for Iteration of the Suit to the Queen’s Majesty for Limitation of Succession; and thereupon strongly reasoned, for both Parts.” This speech, from one “Mr. Lambert,” led to a series of debates on “both Parts”: first, on the appropriateness of the Commons reviving a cause (a “Suit”) treating matters the Queen had declared entirely within her prerogative and not for public discussion; and second, on succession itself.

Neale could not have known how historically ironic the Clerk’s remark on the

lower house's silence might be, nor how pregnant the pause in debate about succession. Since Neale's account, a rather long speech has surfaced fitting the Clerk's description of Lambert's oration: it has an opening section focusing on the duty of the Commons to advise the sovereign about state matters (i.e., the presentation of "suits") and a subsequent section arguing for the need to declare succession itself. Some historians have argued that this oration is Molyneux's original motion to link subsidy and succession. Editor T. E. Hartley, for instance, places this oration before Sadler's in his collection of speeches from 1566. He describes its content as "a lengthy, repetitive essay on the elementary necessity for providing for a known order of succession, and which despite its tedious and sometimes naive development, makes some telling, fundamentally sensible points in refutation of Elizabeth's arguments for silence on the matter of the succession, and in favour of free speech" (*PiPE* 1:119). Unfortunately, the manuscript is not signed by any member of the Commons. We do, however, know this to be the forum of delivery, given the speech's repeated references to "this honorable council" and the direct overtures to "Mr. Speaker," which then, as now, were customary for addressing the lower house.

But as the body of this chapter will show, the length of the speech's arguments for "both parts" (a division that Hartley clearly recognizes but seems to find insignificant for matching to the *Commons Journal*) is due largely to the fact that the speech responds directly to ideas and arguments presented in earlier orations during the session. Molyneux would have no need to go into any arguments for free speech before Elizabeth's rebuke, nor would his rebuttal to the Queen's arguments against declaring succession have any

meaning until she had presented them in detail, which she did in the 5 November rebuke.¹

As we shall see, the key points in the speech were conceived in response to specific opinions presented by Elizabeth and her Councilors (including Sadler). The fruit of the Commons' pregnant pause is truly then a speech *ad hoc* (though hardly impromptu), integrating and addressing many important issues, ideas, and images raised earlier in the session, and not one *ex nihilo*, such as Molyneux's motion clearly was.²

Although speeches *ad hoc* are generally seen as falling under the realm of classical rhetoric, with its emphasis on emergent oratorical contests in public forums, I will argue below that Lambert's method of speaking, his "naïve development" and repetitiveness, reflects not poor oratorical form, but rather the qualities of other arts of composition also cultivated in Renaissance education, namely dialectic and sermonic "prophesying," the one commonly taught in the first two years at university, the other learned through more informal means of indoctrination, especially as cultivated by the Calvinist community gatherings (which nonetheless included many university-trained preachers). These arts offer alternate techniques for invention and arrangement of

¹ In the body of the chapter I will examine Lambert's responses to other parties in detail, the most important being a clear rebuttal to Elizabeth's oration and Cecil's relay of it to the Commons. One piece of circumstantial evidence I will note here is the fact that the speech references among its many biblical citations (in the second half) all three passages corresponding to those listed for 7 November in the Common Book of Prayer.

² While the issue of succession never really faded from public discourse in Elizabeth's early years, it had not yet appeared in the 1566 Parliamentary proceedings, two weeks into the session. In 1563, by contrast, on the second day of normal business, a motion was offered, "for the Queens Marriage, and Succession of the Crown" (18 Jan.), the day before subsidy was first moved (D'Ewes 79). By contrast, members in the 1563 session take the first opportunity to address a long-standing issue; they seem at the opening of 1566 to be more interested in other business. Succession and marriage had been raised in a Privy Council meeting on 12 Oct. (*EP* 1:136), but not in the public forum of the Commons. In that venue, Molyneux's motion to reopen the issue is surprising, and, indeed, the Council appears to be unprepared—see previous chapter.

material, techniques that can be useful for overcoming institutional restrictions for engaging directly with the ideas and arguments of others, especially to be heard more clearly among the din of opinions presented in debates lasting days or weeks—or years in the case of Elizabeth’s marriage and declaration of succession.

The speech demonstrates also the progressive upsizing of oratory as issues become more controversial. Though the Commons appeared to have been moved to support Molyneux’s proposal, the Queen more and more vehemently resisted the advice of her Parliament. This resistance prompted a rhetorical regrouping for those who most wanted the succession question answered, just as the skeptics of subsidy prompted Sadler’s retrenching speech (see previous chapter). After providing a more exact account of Lambert’s rhetorical situation, I will analyze the speech’s conformity to the arts of dialectic and prophesying, first by showing how Lambert forecasts these discursive forms in his preamble, then by outlining his extended used of both forms in the same speech. In my treatment of those two separate strategies for persuasion, I will provide a more detailed exposition of how these alternate language arts tended to shape speech and for what purpose, just as I outlined customary Privy Council rhetoric in the previous chapter.

I. The Rhetorical Situation: Directing England’s Feet Down an Over Worn Path

Although the preceding chapters provide a fair picture of the rhetorical situation leading up to Lambert’s speech, it is worthwhile to review these factors—that is, speaker, utterance, and audience—in light of report of the Queen’s command passed on by Privy Councilors. First the speaker: Assuming this speech is that of “Mr. Lambert” on 8 November, we still have some problem identifying who this person was, whether he was

anyone of historical significance, and what his political and ideological affiliations might be. Neale and others have suggested that this orator is none other than the antiquarian William Lambarde (1536-1601). To this same Lambarde (a variant of “Lambert”) a manuscript guide to Parliamentary procedure has also been attributed.³ He would have been relatively young in 1566, though we know he had other state duties even then.

Contradicting these attributions (both of the oration and the Parliament manual), Retha M. Warnicke argued in her 1973 biography of Lambarde the antiquarian that, given his other duties, he could not have been in the Commons at the time. She notes further that the evidence points more strongly to contemporaries with the same name. Warnicke, moreover, notes that the name itself is not uncommon and suggests that this “Lambert” might rather have been a burgess for Aldborough.⁴ For our purposes, the most

³ The guide actually refers to the 1566 speech. See J.E. Neale, *EP*, 1:152-151; Conyers Read, Introduction to William Lambarde, *William Lambarde and Local Government* (1962), 8-9; see also subsequent note. Read's comments come as preface to a collection of William Lambarde's daily "Ephemeris" while itinerant Justice. The collection also includes twenty-nine charge orations, which are worth noting briefly to point out that they bear little in common with the oration studied here, except for the general emphasis on duty to God, Queen, and country (122, 133, 135-136, 137, 139, 142, 144, 147, 172)—hardly distinctive markers of personal style.

⁴ Retha M. Warnicke, *William Lambarde* (1973), 17-22. See also Hartley, Introduction to 1566 session in *PiPE*, 1:119-120; Elton, *PoE* 370-372; J. D. Alsop, “Reinterpreting the Elizabethan Commons: The Parliamentary Session of 1566” (1990). Warnicke contradicts Neale's and Read's assumption that it was the antiquary; Elton backs Warnicke, in characteristic resistance to Neale; Alsop disputes Warnicke and Elton, asserting that antiquarian Lambarde probably spoke in Parliament, but agrees with Hartley in suggesting that the oration is rather Molyneux's. I have suggested why it makes sense to read the oration examined here as the 8 Nov. Lambert speech, whoever Lambert turns out to be. Elton's reading is of interest, since he suggests that Lambert the burgess spoke as fulfilling his political duties for Cecil, whom Elton see as Parliamentary manager extraordinaire (see previous chapter); Elton reads this speech, which is ostensibly about succession, as a ploy to revive the subsidy bill, a ploy perhaps contrived by Cecil himself (372). As will become clear, however, Privy Councilors' interventions,

important factor is that this speaker was clearly a backbencher at the time, for he was neither of the Privy Council, nor one of the London “men-of-business.” The name is not in the admittedly sparse records of debate, nor is it mentioned again in the fuller journals of subsequent Parliaments. We can, I think, take this Lambert at his word when he refers to himself in the speech as “one of the meanest and simplest of this House” (*PiPE* 1:131). If, as Elizabeth suggested, the Commons were the errant feet leading the head and body of the commonwealth into a ditch, then this speaker was a lesser toe.

While the core of this chapter will analyze the compositional strategies of the speech in great detail, we might now contextualize how the second part of Lambert’s rhetorical situation, the utterance itself, fits into the ongoing debates. The speech is nearly a chiasmus of Sadler’s dual orations and is itself bipartite (as the Clerk’s account indicates), though not so cleanly divided as to be considered two separate speeches. Recall that Sadler’s first speech was for subsidy and his second against petitioning the Queen on succession (since the matter fell under Crown prerogative and should not therefore be debated in Commons). Lambert mirrors Sadler by *opening* “for Iteration of the Suit to the Queen's Majesty,” that is, in contradiction to Sadler on whether to pursue succession. I separate this part of the Clerk’s summary of the speech from the part “for Limitation of Succession,” not only because this division is the only way to get two parts from the Clerk’s summation, but also because the first part reflects well Lambert’s opening concern for Parliamentary procedure, by which he moves for free speech in the lower house.

Cecil’s message in particular, are roundly rebuked in this speech—if Cecil sanctioned it or wrote it, he was truly a self-sacrificing patriot—or devious beyond comprehension.

Yet to complete the chiasmus of Sadler's speech, Lambert must also treat subsidy in the second of his two parts, a subject that the Clerk does not even mention in his summary. As we shall see, Lambert does indeed treat subsidy in the latter half of this speech, albeit briefly and with very little argument. The Clerk's assessment makes sense, however, since Lambert's greater attention to the issue of establishing succession follows the earlier interest of the Commons in tying subsidy to declaring succession, a move that Lambert seems to advocate. Significantly, then, Lambert's chiasmus not only reverses the order of treating the issues raised by Sadler, but also reverses the weight of treatment. Points that Sadler had quickly passed over as a matter of fact (or procedure) become elevated by Lambert to focused points of debate. The traditional deliberative issue of finance (i.e., subsidy), by contrast, seems an afterthought, albeit one procedurally expedient for the overall cause, as we saw in the previous chapter's discussion of Molyneux's motion.

This brings us finally to the audience. Not only was the rebuke from the Queen fresh in the minds of MPs, but those who viewed succession as a lost cause no doubt preferred to wrap things up, so that their costly attendance at Westminster would end and allow them to get on with duties at home.⁵ The arguments about declaring succession, moreover, had already been run through in this session and in many previous public and semi-public discussions.⁶ The majority in the Commons, in fact, felt that succession

⁵ Nicholas Bacon's response to the Speaker's petition at the beginning of the 1566 Parliament actually calls attention to the expense of attending as warning not to digress from the Queen's business; see *PiPE*, 1:128. The Chancellor or Keeper gives similar reminders in other Parliaments: see *PiPE* 1:78-79, 317.

⁶ See historical discussion in first chapter and Mortimer Levine, *The Early Elizabethan Succession Question 1558-1568* (1966); Stephen Alford, *The Early*

should be declared and so needed no convincing. Elizabeth's specific reasons for delaying that act were the only new details of the debate. As Cecil reported, she felt "the Perils be so great to her Person," since a declaration would lead to scheming, the kind of scheming attributed to her after her sister Mary had publicly declared succession. Most in the Commons may then have given up in the face of repeated defeat: just as their procedural stratagem had been preempted by Elizabeth's command, so had the deliberative cause itself been vitiated by the Queen's specific counter-arguments to their own reasoning. The audience could not expect that new arguments *pro seu contra* on the matter would do any good, and they had every reason to avoid the subject, which would only win disfavor from the Queen and waste precious time.

So what, then, was an orator to do? The classical handbooks do not really provide advice for speaking to a deliberative audience who both already agrees with your cause and yet, though the aim remains unachieved, tires of its discussion. Those handbooks treat these as separate rhetorical challenges, under different genres of speaking, neither of which is the deliberative branch. The Roman rhetorics often give advice, for instance, about how to keep a jury attentive and win its goodwill after listening to many previous speeches in a forensic case (*Ad Her.* 1.6.10; *De Inv.* 1.17.23; *Inst. Or.* 4.48). And epideictic oratory, as a genre, was generally thought to address matters that required no decisions be made (*Part Or.* 3.10)—hence the common scholarly assessment that this kind of oratory thrived under regimes in which a sizable majority of citizens were left out

Elizabethan Polity: William Cecil and the British Succession Crisis, 1558-1669 (1998). Notice how both Levine and Alford closer their discussions of the "succession" issue soon after the 1566 session. In fact, the theoretical issues had all been laid out much earlier. Levine provides multiple chapters on *how* the pamphlet press laid them out.

of the deliberative process (see first chapter).

As we noted above, the role of common citizens in making policy for the commonwealth, even on the great cause of royal succession, was one of the chief issues in question following Elizabeth's command. This reflects a cultural contest particularly linked to early modern England, though not foreign to other post-classical regimes. Indeed, the limitations of the classical rhetorical form reflect their cultivation in ancient democratic institutions and the accompanying assumptions that speakers then and there made about the political role of public speaking, whether in the Greek Areopagus or the Roman Forum. In those venues, speakers may indeed have been wary about speaking out, but not because some higher power outside the venue prevented debate from coming to fruition. And if those orators assumed that the cause was won, they might rather digress for the entertainment of the audience (as Cicero does in his *Pro Archia*), but they would not beat a dead horse with any expectation of getting somewhere. Recall that Aristotle delimits the realm of rhetoric, deliberative oratory in particular, according to the potential for persuasive arguments to do any good (*Rhet.* 1.4.1-5; cf. previous chapter).

Fortunately for Lambert, the revived classical rhetoric was not the only language art at his disposal. We saw in the previous chapter that Parliamentary orators were well versed with the forms and principles of ancient oratory, as one might expect given the predominance of classical rhetoric in formal education. Speakers, Sadler for instance, were not averse to drawing upon their rudimentary exercises to prepare textbook deliberative speeches. But we also saw how Sadler, though he presents a finely crafted classical oration, nonetheless modifies his utterance to meet the realities of Parliamentary procedure. His method of modifying the classical form is to tack on a short statement

critiquing Molyneux's procedural move: effectively, he treats his classical deliberative speech as independent and isolated from the institutional, procedural issue addressed by his closing statement (i.e., the attempt to tie subsidy to the declaration of succession). In this chapter, we shall see how Lambert rather integrates other modes of speaking (and writing) directly into his "lengthy essay."

I will argue, in particular, that the "repetitive essay" critiqued by Hartley reflects arts of composition commonly thought to be outside of (though related to) classical civic oratory, namely dialectic and sermonic speech. As we shall see, these alternative arts of discourse help Lambert cut through the unique challenges of his knotty rhetorical situation: they help him shift the focus from specific issues of debate (the chief province of classical rhetoric) to general questions, from particular acts and causes (the key points of judgment in the Greek Areopagus and Roman Senate) to standards of conduct. These alternative arts, moreover, bring with them an authority of utterance quite separate from the "power of eloquence" so commonly associated with classical rhetorical performance: they provide an authority based on deep examination of and meditation on first principles, rather than on the persuasive force of predetermined *special* topics and sententious commonplaces. And yet Lambert's select application of these more contemplative arts demonstrates what might be considered the key aim of rhetors since ancient times, one that can become overshadowed by so many patented persuasive forms and stratagems: that is, to find *all* available means of persuasion for a given situation, which in some cases means looking beyond traditional *rhetoric* itself.

II. A Preamble of a Sort: Tully's License and God's Sufferance

That is not to say that classical rhetorical form has no place in Lambert's speech, which does in fact mention some of the key special topics of deliberative speaking, albeit with particular early modern inflections, as we shall see in the course of analysis. The opening of Lambert's speech, moreover, refers explicitly to a key principle from the classical doctrine on *exordia*, that is, the need to make the audience "attentive," and it does so by reflecting upon the brightest star of Roman oratory:

Mr Speaker, the heathen man Tully said that man is not borne for himself only, but partlie for his parentes, partlie for his children, and partlie for his cuntrie. And surely, Mr Speaker, I doe condemne him as very unnaturall that regardeth neither parentes not [*sic.*] children, and him most unnaturall and unworthie to live in any common wealth that regardeth not his cuntrie, for the which I intend to deale, by Gode's sufferance and your patience, sithence great necessitie urgeth it; hoping that I shall not neede to use any preamble to move you to be attentive, for that the matter itself is of most weightie importance and concerneth the whole realm universallie and every one therin particulerlie. And therefore I will proceede to what I have to say. (*PiPE* 1:129)

As we saw in earlier chapters, pithy sayings, *sententiae*, were not only a staple of early Latin language and moral instruction in Renaissance England, but they were also promoted for persuasive purposes by contemporary educators. Drawing upon Cicero, or "Tully," as they often called him, would have seemed especially appropriate for justifying public speaking on civic matters. As we saw in the first chapter, Cicero was introduced to students as *oratorum eloquentissimus*, and his writings were a staple of formal education at all levels.

No one in the lower house that day would have been surprised, then, that Lambert invoked "the heathen man Tully" to introduce a speech half-filled (as we shall see) with biblical citations. Indeed, the audience would think it only fitting that Lambert's brief

observations on civic duty expand upon a sentence from one text in particular among Cicero's lengthy catalogue, his *De Officiis*, which was perhaps the most consistently taught moral treatise of the pagan writers. Even though the passage itself does not refer to the duty of speaking, which is covered elsewhere in *De Officiis* (2.14), it was nonetheless sensibly used for that purpose by Lambert. In fact, also in 1566, John Jones, in his *Dyal of Agues*, invokes this same sentence from Tully in his letter "To the Reader" for a text on medicine (*op. cit.* A.iii). Jones uses the maxim to explain the other-centered ethic motivating his authorial efforts. For Lambert, the reference does more than explain the *impulse*, but rather associates public speaking with civic *duty*. Relying on this principle of duty, moreover, he claims he needs no "preamble to move [the audience] to be attentive" seemingly based on the maxim's commonsense rule for civil conduct. This strident dismissal of classical rhetorical form (i.e. denying the need for a typical preamble), though self-negating and somewhat ironic (given the invocation of Cicero), prepares us for a speech divergent from traditional modes of civic speaking.

Before treating the non-classical elements that follow, however, we might recognize two other classical elements of Lambert's opening (for he will not let us call it a "preamble"). First, a fact that will become clear once we traverse further into the speech, Lambert here establishes a keynote. Recall from the previous chapter's treatment of Sadler's oration that the exordium of a speech, according to classical doctrine, should establish a proposition that the orator can recurrently link to the overall cause. For Sadler, the keynote came in his image of the body politic, by which he asserts the unity and connectedness of disparate members of the commonwealth: in particular, he emphasizes the interdependence of "head and whole," a concept he repeatedly draws upon to move

the Commons to grant the Queen a subsidy. We might further observe that Elizabeth's rebuke oration draws upon that same figure for its central theme, though she emphasizes the proper offices of each member of the body politic in decision making, rather than their common fate: as we noted above, the gist of her speech is that the feet must be directed by the head, not the other way around. Lambert's keynote, though eschewing the figure of the body politic (at least for now), also makes an opening proposition about the relationship of individuals to the commonwealth. He asserts, by way of Tully, the duty of the individual to the broader community. Like Sadler, he recognizes the connections between the "universal" and the "particular," but unlike Sadler (and Elizabeth), Lambert's keynote emphasizes the citizen's *direct* duty to country and family, without mention of the "head," either as representative of the country or as key decision-maker. In this keynote, Lambert sounds positively republican: this is the other element of his opening that reflects principles of classical deliberative rhetoric, wherein an orator is considered to be a coequal decision-maker on public matters, seeking first and foremost the audience's consent—hence Lambert's respect for their "patience" and his disregard for the Queen's license to speak.

Note, however, that the republican principle, if we may call it that, does not necessarily derive from Lambert's adherence to pagan political philosophy—for besides parading Cicero before his audience, he also petitions "God." It is in further tribute to God that we see Lambert begin to fare beyond the classical voice reverberating from Tully to one more in tune with reformation England. The subsequent passage carries on the pious note, elaborating upon God's special regard for the English commonwealth:

The providence and care of God by the government of the princes

and most chieflie towards this realm of England for the quiet, profitable and sure government of the same, I doe thinke (considering the nature of the people) to be soe great and loving that we ought continually to meditate therof and to be thankfull therfore, especiallie in this place and assemblie. And to declare some part of his great goodnes therin is my purpose, for that I doe iudge the time and place most convenient therfore. And first will I declare what the word 'king' doth signifie; then will I shew the office of a king.

Here we not only see a preview of what is to come (“I will declare . . .”), but we also find the first references to “the princes” Elizabeth, as key member of the commonwealth.

Notice, however, that Lambert shows no particular reverence towards her. Rather, he mentions Elizabeth in the first sentence as a kind of worldly instrument for God (“by the government of . . .”). His use of the impersonal “king,” in his closing transition to the next section, implies that he intends to treat her from a more general perspective, one that hardly acknowledges her active role as England’s leader. Indeed, in spite of his avowal that England currently rests “quiet, profitable and sure” by her rule, God (“his great goodness”) is credited more directly with looking after the “realm of England.”

But this passage—which sounds suspiciously like a preamble—besides informing listeners of the subject next to be discussed, also signals the manner of treatment. At first, it might seem that Lambert intends to adhere to traditional deliberative form, given his mention of the topics of *safety* and *profit*—the very topics Sadler had used to argue for subsidy. Yet Lambert in no way connects them to a particular cause. These topics are used diagnostically to assess the *status quo*, which on the face of it is good. More important, Lambert makes no reference to any specific deliberative issue or civic question. Instead he identifies (for the moment) a rather non-specific “purpose,” that is, to “meditate” on the nature of England's blessed government. This could easily be read as a

call for classical epideictic rhetoric, especially given his intent to "declare [God's] great goodness" in caring for England. The gods, after all, were common subjects for Roman epideictic speech (*Inst. Or.* 3.7.6-9). After reading to the end of the passage, however, we see that Lambert turns the focus rather towards the subject of kings, and, in the body of the speech itself, God is not treated according to the classical epideictic strategies, which would traditionally celebrate the virtues of the deity. So, in spite of references to traditional deliberative topics (with *honor* being noticeably absent), despite an explicit reference to the deliberative venue ("this place and assemblie") and an announced call to laudation, there is little to suggest conformity to any classical rhetorical generic form.

In fact, the promise to "declare" and "meditate" on God's benevolence and to examine the broad topic of "kings" signals two genres familiar to Elizabethans. A call to meditate on God's goodness obviously enough signals religious discourse, a generic marker exhibited by a few of the publications surrounding 1566, including prayer books and contemplative treatises based on theological principles.⁷ A treatment of the "office of king" invokes the genre of *speculum principis*, or "mirror of the magistrate," which in most cases falls under a subcategory of conduct literature, itself a pragmatic rendition of moral philosophy, as we shall see in a moment. This *speculum principis* genre, as the introductory chapter noted, includes among its texts some key works commenting on contemporary rhetorical training for civic leaders, including Thomas Elyot's *Boke Named the Governor* and Niccolo Machiavelli's *Prince*. While Lambert's use of specific kinds of religious discourse becomes especially apparent later in the speech, this first major section expands upon the opening *speculum principis* markers to present a surprisingly

⁷ For example, *Certayne Godly Exarcises and Meditations* (1565), a prayer book.

full discussion of Parliamentary conduct in general. This fullness, I will argue, derives from a textbook philosophical approach to treating a theme in *general*, rather than *specific* terms. The specific issue of succession will not, in fact, rear its head until later.

III. *Ars Dialectica*: Dissecting (God's) Constitutional Monarchy

Later in this section, we will look at how this first major part of Lambert's speech ultimately performs the key functions of conduct literature. First, however, we shall briefly explore a few telling discursive features of dialectical composition. This language art provided one of the traditional modes for presenting moral philosophy, the broader subject (though not necessarily *formal* genre) under which principles of civil conduct fall. Cicero's *De Officiis* actually represents one prominent example of the relationship between *ars dialectica* and moral philosophy. Thomas Wilson, in *The Rule of Reason Conteyning the Arte of Logique* (1551), cites Cicero's prescriptive work on duties, along with Aristotle's more descriptive *Ethics*, as treatises illustrating the "ordre" of presenting material according to dialectic (45).⁸ True, there is a branch of moral or conduct literature that draws more upon classical oratorical methods, and that branch, like Cicero's *De Officiis*, also issued from the pen of an ancient orator who thrived under Renaissance grammar school curriculum: Isocrates's *Ad Demonium*, as noted in the first chapter, was often the first full "oration" read by students. It is essentially a catalogue of proverbs, a form that one modern editor aptly compares to Polonius's admonitory speech to Laertius (*Ham.* 1.3.55-81). After looking at Lambert's approach, however, we will be able to see

⁸ My quotations from this text are from the 1972 Sprague edition of the 1553 printing (see previous note). Wilson's textbook is the most printed English-language art of logic: see Mack, *Elizabeth Rhetoric*, 76.

fairly clearly that he draws more upon the dialectical tradition than the oratorical one for treating the theme of “kings” and outlining civil conduct. There are good reasons for doing that, a point I will argue in turn.

Dialectic, Disputation, and Method in Debate

Logique professeth to teach truely, orderely, and plainly. And here wee maie see, how uniuersall this commoditie is, and how largely it extendeth, not onely to knowe worldely affaires, but also to knowe God and all his heauenly woorkes, so farre as nature maie comprehend.

There be fower partes of this office, or duetie, whereunto Logique is bounde. This is: [1] To define the nature of euery thing, [2] to deuide, to [3] knit true arguments, [4] and unknit false.

Thomas Wilson, *Rule of Reason* (12)

Thomas Wilson’s statement on the “office of Logique” repeats—in Anglicized form—many long held assessments of the value and purpose of *ars dialectica*. While university logic and dialectic are often associated with the abstruse analysis of subjects by way of abstract “common topics” and “categories,” Renaissance humanists tended to highlight the fundamental purpose of developing and using such intellectual constructs, which was to give a comprehensive, yet communicable treatment of a subject. In doing so, these educators merely reiterate the approach of the ancient authors they were so eager to revive. Plato had described this philosopher’s art as that of “definition” and “division.”⁹ He saw it as a tool for discerning truth in speech about any subject by

⁹ *Phaedrus* 277b. See also in Plato *Phaedrus*, 266b, *Sophist* 253d, and the opening passages to *Statesman*. *Phaedrus* 266b is cited by Abraham Fraunce in his *Lawiers Logike* (1588) under his discussion of “distribution” (57). For a secondary treatment of the *Phaedrus*’s description of dialectical method, in close (but not perfect) concordance with Wilson’s statement, see Neal W. Gilbert, *Renaissance Concepts of Method* (1960), 3-6. Cicero in his *Topica* likewise foregrounds definition and partition (*partitio*) and division (*divisio*): 4.26-7.32. Cicero links definition very closely to the processes of

avoiding *sophistry*, a perversion of discourse that Wilson, like Plato, also characterizes negatively (e.g., 206), albeit not as synonymous with *rhetoric*, which Wilson, unlike Plato, accepts to be a truly valuable tool for speaking and writing (11), a fact we know from his popular *Arte of Rhetorique* (1553).

Whether viewed as counter-part or contrary art to rhetoric, dialectic has traditionally been concerned with the veracity of discourse, especially for the purposes of finding universal principles in response to general questions about a subject (see first chapter). Definition and division serve as key conceptual tools towards that end, especially when used in conjunction with the topics of invention provided by dialectic. By beginning with a definition, a debater opens up a field of potential arguments based on etymological and associative derivations from the subject's nomenclature and, more important, arguments based on the subject's essential properties. The latter leads the way into a division of the whole subject into parts and an analysis of the distinctive relationships amongst those parts and in comparison with other subjects, especially by identifying causes, effects, and associated circumstances (time, place, etc.).¹⁰

enumeration into parts and division by distinction. The close connection of these two intellectual acts is a central point of humanist dialectic.

¹⁰ In this description, I am giving a pragmatic reading of Wilson's second book of the *Rule of Reason*, which treats "invention," whereas the first treats "judgment," by way of traditional logical forms discussed below. Note that Wilson's ordering of judgment before invention reflects his scholastic roots (see Howell, *Logic and Rhetoric in England*, 12-56). But Wilson also borrows concepts from humanist contemporaries, namely, a substantive treatment of "invention" in the art of dialectic (one of three books), which follows Rudolph Agricola. For a discussion of Agricola's influence on humanist dialectic see Mack, *Renaissance Argument*, 119-131. The combination of influences in Wilson creates some redundancy and confusion, not the least of which being the repeated and inconsistent treatment of "definition." Writing at the same time as Wilson, Ramus will follow Agricola more carefully and critically, putting invention first and judgment second. He also puts definition and division (or distribution) as the last rather than the

Beyond defining and dividing a subject (or in the course of doing so), dialectic serves as science or art of verification in response to questions or propositions posed about particular qualities of a subject. The tools for such verification have long included specific discursive forms, namely, *propositions* (positive and negative) and *syllogisms* (in various shapes and moods), that if used correctly serve to clear away false and unrelated statements and confirm the reasoning underlying commonplace beliefs. Wilson's Tudor textbook on logic, for the most part, echoes ancient, medieval, and contemporary logicians in emphasizing dialectic as the language art for answering philosophical questions and disproving false theories and claims, especially by way of analyzing the words used to signify the subject (defining and dividing it) and also through synthesis of these clarified terms into positive and negative statements about the subject (Wilson's "knitting" together of arguments).

In my first chapter, I showed how *ars dialectica* still played a prominent role in university education throughout the Renaissance, not only as a systematic set of rules for discoursing accurately and truthfully, but also as a tool for participating in debating exercises, which were important academic rites of passage. Such exercises, however, influenced oral discourse beyond the university halls. As Peter Mack notes in his chapter on Parliamentary oratory, speakers regularly drew upon the habits cultivated by this academic exercises for the purposes of arguing civic issues. According to Mack,

University training in dialectic affected the structure and technique of parliamentary debate. Members often began by summarizing the arguments of a previous speaker and replying to each point in turn, in the manner of university disputations. They employed enthymemes and

first topics, essentially treating them as the end of the inventive process, whereas Wilson treats them as the ends of the whole art. See below for references to Ramus.

hypothetical syllogisms, distinguished different senses of words (as in disputations) and made prominent and clear divisions (as recommended by textbooks on method). (*Elizabethan Rhetoric* 250)

Elsewhere, Mack points out the care used by speakers in making terminological distinctions in Privy Council debates, which is “one of the main tactics in academic disputation” (195). Yet also on the Commons floor in committee meetings, speakers paid great attention to the wording of bills, especially the language’s relevance to the real world applications of law. Careful distinctions are made, for example, in the 1576 debate about outlawing usury, a debate in which Thomas Wilson participates (*PiPE* 1:231-236).

Besides quibbling about terminology, speakers regularly used the practice of dividing a subject into parts. Mack, for instance, points out Nicolas Bacon’s division of laws into “ecclesiastical” and “temporal” categories, a division he makes in the process of presenting the purpose for calling the 1571 Parliament (219; cf. *PiPE* 1:183; Mildmay in 1589, *PiPE* 2: 434-438). Other textbook techniques from logic and dialectic were also used to test arguments: In a debate about Parliamentary representation, wherein the failure of some constituencies to send fit MPs was cited to eliminate the right of representation for all similar constituencies, an anonymous speaker cites a commonly taught logical fallacy, “Of a particuler proposition to make a general conclusion it is against our rules, and nothinge, sayd the philosopher, more absurd then *non causam pro causa*.”¹¹ Such technical debate tactics were rarely heard in the less controversial exercise

¹¹ “The philosopher” generally referred to Aristotle, though it could be a reference to philosophers generally, which would essentially be equivalent to saying, “according to rules of logic.” In fact, this fallacy of reasoning, “non causam pro causa,” is covered by Wilson in his *Rule of Reason*, where he translates it thus, “A cause that is *not*, put for a cause” (193; my italics). Wilson provides an engaging fable, that of Papirius and the

of Renaissance grammar-school declamation; they are more probably traceable to dialectical instruction students received after matriculating into higher education.

Yet the discursive marker most relevant for understanding Lambert's opening section to his speech is commonly called "method," a dialectical form that was not principally used for oral disputation, but rather for teaching a subject in full, but brief form. This is the technique Nicholas Bacon seems to use in dividing the subject of law into constituent categories. Recall from the first chapter that dialectic was respected by humanist educators (e.g., Agricola and Ramus) for its usefulness in instruction. Wilson, for instance, claims logic should "teach truly, orderly, and plainly." Method was a compositional form designed to do just that, as Wilson explains,

We speake before of a Methode, or direct ordre to be vsed in al our dooyng: and herein we maie wel see the vse thero. For hetherto we handled those places which dooe nothing elles but comprehende the nature of a perfeicte definition. Now, whereas the place foloweth of the whole and his partes, it is nothing elles, but the right maner of a perfeicte diuision. The places that folowe after, declare the causes, the effectes, what be incident, what be disagreeeing from the matier, shewying example, and testimonies of the auncient. (*Rule of Reason* 96)

The "perfeicte" definition and division of a subject involved laying out all these aspects, instead of simply treating it through a series of syllogisms or investigative questions. The theme could then be presented holistically. Definition and division would be used not simply to counter false statements and make special distinctions, but rather to outline an entire subject matter—from whole to parts, from causes to effects, and so on—especially

"Parliament house," to illustrate this faulty reasoning. This fable may also provide an interesting commentary on the assumed need for secrecy in Parliamentary proceedings.

for the purposes of teaching.¹² Often, in fact, we see dialectical method used to compose a *compendium* for a subject, wherein the subject is taught completely, yet compactly.¹³

While such an approach—indeed "method" itself—has often been presented as an innovation of Peter Ramus, a contemporary of Wilson's and another disciple of Rudolph Agricola, Ramus rather presents a "purer" version of an long-standing way to teaching, one that, as Wilson had noted, could be traced back to the philosophical writings of the ancients.¹⁴ Indeed, many treatises use the methodical approach of defining and dividing a subject. Ramist textbooks on logic and rhetoric provide some of the most exacting examples. There are, however, many other methodical treatises for our reference, ranging from Galen's medical texts to Milton's *Of Reformation* and *De Doctrina Christiana*. Methodical treatises were commonly available in the years leading up to 1566. In fact, in that year, some of Galen's medical texts were published, as was John Jones' *A Dyal of Agues*, a medical text following the tradition of Galen and other medical authors. Interestingly, Jones, like Wilson, cites Cicero's *De Officiis* as model for methodical exposition: "it behoveth fyrst to define what an ague is folowing Cicero [the side-note here cites *De Officiis* book 1], which saith that every thing which we purpose to speak of

¹² Cox's *Arte or Crafte of Rhetoryke*, following Melancthon also appends a fourth genre to the traditional tripartite division. This genre he calls "Logycall whyche kinde we call properly disputacio[n]" (A.v). Though imported into a treatise on rhetoric, we should see it as an epitome of dialectical method, a simpler version of Wilson's rules for treating a theme: According to Cox, "The places or instrumentes of a simple theme are. The diffinicion of the thyng. The causes. The partes. The effectes." (*op cit.* A.vi)

¹³ For a discussion of how method and compendium writing overlaps see Ong, *Ramus, Method, and the Decay of Dialogue* (1958, 1983), 225-269, 295-318; Gilbert, *Renaissance Concepts of Method*, 58-66, 110-115.

¹⁴ For a discussion of Ramus's method and its influences, derivations, and reactants, see Howell, *Logic and Rhetoric in England*, 160-165, 182-186, 221, 236, 302-303, 357-360; Ong, *Ramus*, 225-269, 295-318; Gilbert, *Renaissance Concepts of Method*, 128-163; Mack, *Renaissance Argument*, 349-351.

must rise of his Definitio[n]” (op cit. C.iiii). He proceeds into division of different types of "agues." The body is prone to methodological treatment.

As we shall see, Lambert uses many above-listed dialectical constructs in the first part of his speech, and most significantly, he opens his subject methodically, sounding more like a philosopher offering a *compendius* treatment on a broad subject, than an MP—a backbencher at that—arguing a specific cause having real consequences. Indeed, his explicit promise to “declare what the word 'king' doth signifie” echoes Thomas Wilson in his *Rule of Reason*, where, after outlining the topics of logical invention, he pledges, “to make this thing more plain [i.e., the use topics], I wil go through the places with one certain woorde, and loke what helpe I shall finde there, for knowelege of the same. The woorde shalbe (a King) or (a Magistrate)” (135).

Defining and Dividing the Head and Its “Helpes”: The Natural Causes of Monarchy

Lambert’s own definition of a “king,” as it happens, invokes the common figure of the *body politic* in the process of defining the duties of the *head* of state. Earlier speakers, such as Sadler and Elizabeth, had pointed to the critical role of the “head,” which obviously enough is equated with the monarchy. Lambert begins this first section of his speech, then, by dividing that key member of the body politic into much more detailed anatomy than heretofore been revealed in the 1566 debates.

The word or name of a king doth signifie a ruler or governour, an high officer, and of great care if he doe carefully looke unto it, and may well be termed an head. Now, what is the office of an head? The office of the head consisteth in these two pointes: first, carefullie to devise and put in execucion all things most commodious for the whole bodie and every member thereof; then, wisely to foresee and prevent the evils that may come to any part thereof, and to that end God hath placed therein the

brayne to devise, and every member giveth place thereunto, and patientlie performe their duties. He hath also (for helpes) placed therin the eye to looke about and the eare to hearken for all things, either beneficiall or discommodious. And lastlie, to his great glorie he hath created the tongue to utter the same, where the good may be received and the evill prevented.

Whereas Sadler had simply asserted that the head stood for the whole, and Elizabeth only slightly more elaborately distinguished between the head and feet, Lambert calls attention to the functions of individual organs, sounding at once like an medical textbook and an epitome of political science. He does briefly note other abstractions that would allow for alternate elaboration: The term “governour” could easily have been connected to another commonplace political metaphor, the ship of state, with the Latin *gubernator*, standing for “navigator.”¹⁵ His reference to the “high officer” could have been more immediately connected to the codified institutional titles in England, each of which had special duties subordinate to the Crown. Lambert rather closes his definition with an equivocation of the office of king with a body’s “head,” which serves as his point of departure into a fuller exposition of the body politic. There are good reasons for doing so, some deriving from the rhetorical situation, some from logical methodology.

The rhetorical rationale for raising this metaphor as part of his definition concerns not (or not simply) the function of making an orator’s utterance more pleasing with figures of speech (see second chapter), but rather calls attention to previous invocations of the “head” as accepted byword for the sovereign: Lambert’s exchange in the debate

¹⁵ In Wilson’s treatment of kings, under the topic of “Similitudes,” he declares, “That whiche the Shepherde is to the Shepe, thesame is the Magistrate to his Subiectes. That which the Master of the Shippe, is to the Shippe [the side-note reads ‘Governance’], or the Master of an householde, to his house, or the head to the whole bodie: thesame is the Magistrate to his subiectes” (137-138). Under the topic of “Words yoked,” which in often called, “conjugates” in other dialectical texts, he lists, “The Officer, the Office, to beare an Office, if the Office cannot be spared, the Officer cannot be spare” (136).

works with the already established oratorical currency (to say nothing of it being commonplace in school literature and politics). Yet Lambert feels obliged to define the commonplace, indicating a belief that its meaning is unresolved or incomplete. In other words, Lambert addresses a heretofore unacknowledged point of definitional *status* (see first chapter): What is the “head” of state and what role does it play in the body politic?

Lambert’s rhetorical purpose is further aided by the fact that the commonplace figure of the body politic (referenced in full by synecdochal attachment to the head) also conveys an understood interdependence between all members of the commonwealth, high and low. Unlike the ship of state, which sails where the one at the helm chooses, and unlike the ancient institutional chairs, which are assigned and reassigned by the one placed on the throne, the lesser members of the body politic play innate and unalterable roles in helping to hold the head upright. The mutual interdependence of the members of the body politic will prove as important to Lambert as it did for Sadler’s speech, albeit for different reasons. Interestingly, dialectic textbooks regularly point to the body for demonstrating the *division* of a *whole* subject into *parts*, essentially providing a theoretical basis for asserting the rhetorical commonplace: a body cannot survive without the contributions of key parts.¹⁶ What dialectic offers that the commonplace itself and rhetorical methods do not is an authoritative means of dividing up and assessing the vital activities of the individual body parts.

¹⁶ Indeed, many logic textbooks refer to the human body to explain the difference between parts and wholes. Wilson’s *Rule* might actually have proved valuable for qualifying the interdependence principle in Aesop. In distinguishing *partes integrales* from nonessential members, he says, “the partes of a mannes bodie, which contein life, cannot be awaie, without losse of the manne. As the head, the belie, the harte, and the entrails. . . . Those which are not principal partes, maie be awaie: and the whole notwithstanding remaine stil, as the handes, the feete, the legges, and the armes” (96-98).

Before getting too far into the meat of Lambert's naturalized political points, we should first look at the simple dialectical approach he takes to presenting his ideas. As already noted, he begins with a simple definition. While Lambert does not explicitly parse the etymology of the word, a common dialectical practice, his list of meanings in the first sentence divides the overall subject into multiple synonymous terms, in effect laying out the scattered nomenclature for the whole subject, also a practice routine in dialectical exploration of a broad subject.¹⁷ The last term, "an high officer," serves as a bridge to the next step in the dialectical process, that is, division.

Lambert begins his division of the subject by splitting the "office" of a king into two separate duties, one concerned with the pursuit of "things commodious," the other concerned with avoidance "evills." Note how this division of the office reflects a simple distinction of good and bad outcomes. While Lambert could no doubt go into more specific detail about how to achieve these two collateral aims, the standard methodological approach begins with the most general articulation principles, from which more particular statements could later be derived. In textbook form, Lambert's subsequent division of the head into its several organs, distributes the previously noted general duties of the king among the parts of the head, consequently adding one degree greater specificity: the eye and ear discern what is good or bad; the tongue declares what is good or bad, thereby allowing for pursuant or preventative action. Once again, no specific task has been identified, though the general functions of the head and its "helpes" are clearer from an overarching theoretical view.

Although I have suggested that Lambert's strategy seeks ultimately to call

¹⁷ See note 15 conjugates or, as Wilson puts it, "similitudes" above.

attention to the definition of the “head” as point of argumentative stasis, we should observe that his methodological approach in no way presumes a rhetorical stance on a *particular* issue. While we know from the *Commons Journal* that Lambert’s speech ultimately moves for the succession suit at the expense of the Crown’s prerogative, his points so far could easily serve to further Sadler and the Privy Council’s arguments. He could, for instance, call on the Commons to trust the Queen’s tongue in the Common’s house, that is, her Councilors (also her eyes and ears).¹⁸ If the text of the speech can be trusted, the audience has no idea yet that Lambert intends to question the so far accepted prerogative of the “head” in directing Parliamentary action. Significantly, the result of the methodological approach, as we can already see, is to redirect a discussion of the head to a fuller exposition of the entire body politic, which requires the establishment of multiple related definitions, one for each of the several members of whole system (or at least those members assisting the “brayne” in deliberating future action). As such, the speech so far is less threatening to the establishment than a direct confrontation of previously posited political definitions. Why need they fear someone so pedantic?

This attention to teaching a system, rather than arguing a single contested definition, is part and parcel of Lambert’s dialectical approach, which as we saw in Wilson’s quote above, was particularly suited for treating natural, that is, worldly, phenomena. Almost as if he were writing a medical text, Lambert discusses the body politic as a natural system because to him it is truly of that order. The body imagery may provide a convenient, well-known metaphor for discussing politics, but the analogies

¹⁸ Interestingly, Elizabeth’s nickname for Councilor (and friend) Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, was her “Eyes”; Hatton she called her “Lids”; Cecil, however, was her out-of-body “Spirit.” See J. E. Neale, *Queen Elizabeth I* (1934, 2001), 218-219.

embodied by the metaphor reflect real logical relationships—in particular, those relationships existing between natural causes and their worldly effects.

This brings us to one of the key tools that dialectic offers to describe the relationships between various worldly phenomena and one of its chief heuristics for division: the topic of *cause*, which was commonly divided into four species: *efficient*, *material*, *formal*, and *end*.¹⁹ For many logicians, the causes were the primary tools for analysis that went beyond basic definition and enumeration of parts. The topic of cause, as suggested by Wilson’s description of method, naturally followed as a means of further dividing the subject, after it had been defined and dissected into parts. This next step further develops the subject by examining its relationships to other phenomena as part of a more complex natural system.

Lambert’s definition of a king demonstrates, true to form, a breakdown of the four causes in the process of dissecting the body politic. The easiest cause to recognize is the one explicitly labeled, that is, the final cause, or “that end,” which is actually an amalgam of the two offices of achieving good and avoiding evil. This differs in expression from the end for magistrates identified by Wilson’s *Rule of Reason* in its example: “This ende he [i.e., the king] muste nedes obserue, that alwaies the people liue in quietnesse, and in honest conuersacion passe their whole life” (134). Lambert, I would argue, maintains a somewhat more methodical approach in his dialectical division: Where Wilson’s jumps from the more general ends of goods and evils to the specific concepts of “quietnesse”

¹⁹ The discussion of causes that follows may seem somewhat rarified for our purposes, but I would argue that the four causes need to be attended to much more as inventive *topos*, given *cause*’s priority among Ramists, who also taught how to hide it in metaphor. Analysis of cause, moreover, is especially relevant to deliberative issues.

and “honest conuersation,” the latter of which might rather (to use Wilson’s own terminology) be considered “helpyng ende[s]” (109), Lambert for the moment speaks only abstractly about final causes, good and evil.

Lambert’s (ironically) purer application of dialectical method also appears in his consideration of the other three causes, where Wilson cuts short his sample analysis, saying, “I thinke it not necessarie that ye searche all the places at euery time, and for euery matier” (138). The formal cause, what Wilson elsewhere refers to as “shape,” is perhaps the next easiest cause to recognize, given that it follows naturally upon the distribution of the subject into parts, in this case, the organs of the head. Together the organs form a fairly complete picture of the head, with only the nose being absent. It may seem a perversion of dialectical method to allow this dissection of the metaphorical “head” to stand for logical analysis of monarchical government. Yet we must remember the formal cause is primarily concerned with identifying distinctive properties of the subject; as Wilson says, the formal cause “is a cause whereby the thing that is made hath his name” (111). Metaphors, in fact, reflect formal similarities, that is, shared properties among separate things.²⁰ These figures work because one name transfers essential properties to another thing. The metaphorical organs correspond to *real* properties of

²⁰ Ramist textbooks on rhetoric use the causes and other logical topics explicitly in defining tropes (e.g., metonym as efficient for material cause; synecdoche as part for whole, etc.), although they often taken the connection between metaphor and formal cause for granted. Henry Peacham’s *Garden of Eloquence* (1577, 1593), however, reminds readers of the connection, “It is apparant that memorie is the principall efficient of a *Metaphore*, for being the retentive power of the mind, it is the treasure house of mans knowledge, which is it possesseth the formes of knowen things, so is it readie at all times to present them to mans use, as often as occasion, and cause doeth necessarily require” (3). Notice also Peacham’s reflexive consideration of *metaphor*’s efficient cause, which follows his initial definition. He goes on to treat numerous species of metaphor.

sovereignty, first and foremost, devising plans (the brain), but also collecting intelligence (eyes and ears) and executing the chosen plan by way of command (the tongue).

I would argue that Lambert's critical attention to the metaphorical head by way of dialectical methods (namely, a formal breakdown of properties) actually presents a more realistic view of monarchical government than might be allowed if he had maintained that the commonplace of the "head" as opaque decision-making organ, or fixated on the person of the sovereign as the human analogue to the body's head. By dissecting the form of the commonplace, Lambert shows how the properties of the chief magistrate are actually distributed among various subordinate parts, each of which has limited functions and particular duties in assisting the sovereign, who in a formal sense is most appropriately represented by the singular, superior, yet physically encapsulated, brain.

This formal breakdown of the monarchical head actually helps us recognize the two less obvious causes, *efficient* and *material*. Efficient cause is by far the most important for logicians, for it is the species of cause most directly responsible for producing effects.²¹ The efficient cause describes the chief agent producing the effect in real terms: as Wilson notes, it is the "workyng cause" (106). The significance of this cause is especially apparent in its greater specification by dialecticians, who distinguish between efficient causes *per accidens* and *per se*; primary and secondary; operative and instrumental; remote and immediate; necessary and deliberate (105-112). Wilson adds the distinction between commanding and obeying causes, and offers the obvious example of

²¹ Effects, after all, can be produced *in spite* of the purposes reflected in the *final* cause; and the *formal* cause is actually a metaphysical descriptor of the effect, and therefore not a cause of anything except the general idea representing a phenomenon. The *material* cause, finally, is amorphous without being worked by the *efficient* cause.

a “king” for the former, and “subiecte” for the latter. In fact, the other traditional subdivisions of efficient cause are also visible in Lambert’s analysis, with the king being a primary (*primus in princeps*), deliberating (“to devise and put into execution”), yet in most cases remote cause of the goods and evils that befall a commonwealth. The “helpes” listed by Lambert, by contrast, can be recognized as secondary (Wilson actually uses the term “helping cause”), more immediate, yet somewhat less free-choosing, causes. Such care in distinguishing the workings causes serves a number of purposes, including knowing where to lay the most praise or blame or identifying a key point of intervention.

Of course, we have not yet really identified the efficient cause of kings *per se*, the key subject of Lambert’s speech, but rather noted only how he recognizes that sovereign and helping ministers *act as* efficient causes themselves within the body politic. To identify the efficient cause of kings generally, it helps to know that the effects of one efficient cause can be efficient causes in themselves. One variation of the distinction between commanding and obeying efficient causes is that between operative and instrumental causes: “[Some] efficient causes . . . are but instruments of dooyng, as Hatchettes, Hammers, Pikeaxes, with other” (108). Monarchs, no wonder, are often referred to as the sword of justice. Recognizing this possibility (i.e., that one effect can be cause in itself) greatly enhances our analysis of worldly relationships, since efficacy is further split among multiple agents and instruments. It also adds an analytical challenge, when the remote efficient cause of one outcome, the cause that represents the true point of intercession, may not be visible to the observer.

Both these complications appear relevant to the dialectical analysis of Christian monarchies. As Wilson notes in his treatment of kings, the efficient cause of the highest

officer in the land could be none other than “God himself, or els the ordinaunce of God” (136). On this topic Lambert and Wilson are in complete agreement. Notice how Lambert surreptitiously notes “God placed” the “brayne” in the head of the body politic. Later, as we shall see, Lambert reminds his audience over and over of “God’s providence” in forming the body politic as such. Looking back to Lambert’s opening passages, we can see his identification of efficient cause where he expresses thanks for “The providence and care of God by the government of the princes and most chieflie towards this realm of England for the quiet, profitable and sure government of the same.” It is no accident that “the princes [i.e. Elizabeth]” is seen as only an instrument of God, just as the head’s organs help it achieve its purpose. The role of God as Elizabeth’s higher efficient cause will in fact become the chief concern of the second part of Lambert’s speech.

Something finally should be said about the material cause identified in Lambert’s compendium of constitutional monarchy. This cause can be easy to miss when dealing with abstract subjects, yet this cause must be identified to complete the analysis, since, according to logical principles, every effect must be formed from something. To put it another way, some raw material must be present for the efficient causes to work with and be effectual. It is easy to picture the material cause when the effect is a physical product; thus the logic textbooks point to iron in a sword or the leather in a shoe. Yet raw material can also be something ethereal. Indeed, many dialecticians view the raw material of logic to be the arguments or reasons themselves.

In Lambert’s depiction of the head, the material causes are those abstractly identified “things . . . beneficiall or discommodious.” Such matters in a commonwealth could stand for physical land, grain, money, and other more mundane raw materials. Yet

these do not quite seem to be the material with which the head works. It rather works with some more ethereal material causes, since what the head's organs really supply to the brain are percepts and information about the *potential* goods and evils for the commonwealth.

Here again, the dialectical practice of gradual differentiation from overarching generalization once more provides key points of distinction about the otherwise commonplace figures of body politic and head of state. The head, as Wilson would put it, is a "commanding cause," not one that works directly with the physical materials so necessary for keeping the body politic up and running. The governing organs of the head work only with *information* about real goods and evils and produce only processed regurgitations of that information by way of the tongue. The brain, the highest organ in the highest appendage, is aptly depicted as encapsulated from direct contact with the material world. The brain and its helps rather deal with words and ideas describing the outside world, words and ideas that might themselves be reshaped into formal designs for attaining goods and avoiding evil (royal proclamations, laws, and orations of various sorts), but that do not represent the real work to achieve such designs, such as would be carried out by the more servile efficient causes, that is, the lower members.

Of course, we know Lambert ultimately wants the head and its help to produce some official declaration of succession, even though his dialectical method remains at the height of abstraction. In fact, the type of material received by the brain (i.e., the sovereign) is a key issue in the debate over the limits and duties of the work done by various members of the body politic, especially as represented in Parliament.

Further Propositions on Bodily Functions: The Need for Parliamentary Digestion

Lambert continues in his dialectical fashion by taking on the next office of the logician as identified by Wilson, this is, “knitting” together arguments. After methodically defining and dividing the offices and elements of monarchy, Lambert weaves the analytical points together to make slightly more complex arguments about the subject, which include more specific claims about how such a government works:

This king, this head, with the consent of the whole [130] bodie and through the providence of God, weying that his eye and eare cannot be in every corner of his kingdome and dominions at one instant to view and hearken out the benefittes or inconveniences that might growe to the head, bodie, or any member thereof, hath established this honorable counsell of everie part of the same absent from the king's eye and eare, the which is termed a parliament, that is, a speech uttered from the heart, from the mynd, yea a free speech wherfore this counsell was ordeined to be absent from the king's eye and eare. The reason is that as th'office of a king is an high thinge, even soe he most commonly listeth himself on high and can hardlie endure plaine speech, being inured to pleasing things.

The key formal difference between this passage and the previous one is a shift from enumerations of positive, declarative propositions, wherein the veracity is supported by direct analysis of causes, to sequential ratiocination, wherein the veracity of propositions is supported by other propositions treating the same subject (“weying that”; “wherefore”; “The reason”), some of which repeat (in altered form) principles from the earlier analysis. Of course, Lambert’s proposition asserting free speech in “parliament” stands out for our purposes. Before delving into that proposition, we should note first that Lambert intends to illustrate how the specific institution of Parliament (“this honorable counsell”) fits into his exposition of the body politic.

Significantly, the role of “a parliament” in general is explained as logical consequent to a negative proposition formed from previous analysis of organs of the

head: Parliament arises from the head's lack of information, a result of the natural and formal limitations placed upon the "king's eye and eare," which "cannot be in every corner of the kingdome." In other words, the organs of the head do not have access to all the details (material causes) needed to make effective deliberations. The purpose of Parliament, then, its chief office, is to present the head with otherwise inaccessible raw information about potential "benefits and inconveniencies." The distributed parts of the commonwealth, then, act analogously to the organs of the head. These parts, represented presumably by the MPs of the Commons, act as helps to the head, just as the organs of the head assist the brain in devising government policy. As helping agents, they share the same final cause as the head, that of seeking goods and preventing evils for the commonwealth. Lambert, however, notes greater or lesser differences in *how* Parliament helps, and these can best be understood by returning to an analysis of causes.

Lambert's opening sentence to the passage quoted above ("This king . . . hath established this honorable counsell") declares the efficient cause of Parliament. This statement reflects the fact that the sovereign summons Parliament at his or her own discretion. Yet Lambert qualifies that power by identifying two other contributing causes. He first gives a perfunctory reminder of the state's and the Crown's own efficient cause, "God's providence." The second supporting cause is more mundane, founded on the customary belief that the Crown's authority is granted originally by the people ("by consent of the whole bodie"), a point Fortescue had made (see first chapter). This recognition of the lower members of the body politic may also reflect the fact that the Crown was truly dependent upon the lower members for their full participation and dutiful cooperation in attending Parliament. While the Crown may be the chief efficient

cause for each Parliament (taking the Prime Mover for granted), the Crown also relied upon common citizens for Parliament to be productive, that is, to issue effective statutes.

The key role of common citizens in Parliament (Lambert does not appear to pay regards to the Lords) also explains its formal and material differences from the organs of the head. From the perspective of formal cause, Lambert does not bother to run through “everie part” of the body, as he did for the head. Indeed, he gradually leaves the body metaphor behind—perhaps because he recognizes that the institution of Parliament is a special political formation, one where lower members are called to imitate the counseling duties of the head’s organs and to do so in coequal capacity. For describing the Commons, the body metaphor is apropos, but has limitations, since the special functions of distributed members of the commonwealth are left in their dispersed home constituencies. Lambert rather identifies the key formal distinction between the courtly head and the Parliamentary council according to whether they directly interact with the sovereign. He emphasizes the point, “this counsell [Parliament] was ordeined to be absent from the king's eye and eare.”

Whether Lambert is thinking of some customary ordination or not, his explicit “reason” for the formal separation of Crown and Parliament draws upon his opening definition, but particularly in light of the topic of material cause. He attributes the necessary formal separation to the type of speech existing in each decision-making forum, that is, the qualities of their raw materials in the Commons versus at Court: “plain” versus “pleasing” speech. Although there is similarity in the materials—they all concern the general categories of information about potential benefits and threats—Parliamentary speech is not as refined as that presented amongst the organs of the courtly

head. The “office of a king,” he notes, repeating his opening definition in altered form, “is an high thinge.” In that distinction, Lambert reflects an early modern commonplace about the quality of verbal expression, one that we saw earlier in our reading of Puttenham’s comments about the Yorkshire speaker (see second chapter): the social status of the orator (the efficient cause of each utterance) generally reflects the aesthetic quality of the oration. Yet Lambert treats this as a matter of systemic functionality, according to the inner workings of the body politic, not simply as a matter of decorum.

Lambert consequently asserts that Parliament’s key function is actually to generate such speech, a point for which he provides an etymological argument highlighting the *parler* in Parliament. It was not, after all, labeled (at least officially) a “senate” or a “council,” like other analogous bodies.²² In fulfilling its primary function, Lambert highlights the “free” speech inside Parliament as a fundamental quality reflecting the institution’s very name, almost as if it were a conversational space. He notes the source (i.e., efficient cause) of Parliamentary speech as the “heart” and “minds” of dispersed parts found beyond court. Given Lambert’s naturalized approach to England’s monarchy, it would indeed seem counter-productive to stifle Parliamentary speech, since the institution’s primary role in the body politic was to provide information to fill in the head’s incomplete picture of the condition of the whole commonwealth. Such speech may not be suitable in raw form, but once shaped into more refined language—a bill or petition, for instance—the products of lower members might serve as suitable raw material for the head’s formation of policy. According to the logicians, just

²² For a discussion of this etymology of Parliament and the assumption that the name might “not unfitly” imply that each member was called to “speak his minde,” see William Lambarde (the antiquarian), *Archion* (posthumously, 1636), 235-236.

as the result of one efficient cause might be an efficient cause in its own right, so might the effect of one efficient cause serve as better or worse raw material for another.

Logical Conclusions about Healthy Constitutions: Preventing Dysfunctional Members

Although Lambert has shifted from an abstract discussion of monarchy to (slightly) more specific reasoning about English monarchy, he still speaks in terms of a natural system, one in which all parts contribute in their own special ways to the maintenance of the whole. Earlier I suggested some reasons for Lambert's method in dissecting his subject, reasons founded in the authority of dialectic in treating worldly (that is, natural *and* cultural) phenomena, but I will also point out that his transition to particular points about English institutions suggests another justification for his naturalistic approach: that is, the connection between Parliament and English Common Law, which was perceived to be the custom-based analogue to *natural law*. Common Law was reflective of the laws of nature since it evolved through generations of national custom with the successive approval of the people, and it was not framed arbitrarily by legal theorists or imposed by foreign conquerors (both being the case with Roman Civil Law).²³ Given the historic assumptions about Common Law, Lambert can make this shift to more controversial *constitutional* claims, which depend on particulars of the English system, while he nonetheless maintains the distanced voice of a philosopher explaining the normal operation of a naturally operating body.

As Lambert furthers his analysis, he begins to focus even more on particular

²³ For a contemporary (or revived, rather) discussion of the natural law, customary law, and statutory law see Fortescue, *A Learned Commendation of the Politike Lawes of Englande* (1470 ca., 1567), ff. 37.

constitutional issues, going so far as to allude to the present controversy created by Elizabeth's recent command not to discuss a particular matter. Still, while his insinuations are fairly clear, he makes no *direct* references. He instead treats the issue, once again, in abstract terms, deriving from his earlier theorems a test for identifying dysfunctional members, that is, members who disrupt the body's normal operation:

Therefore, to prevent the evils of trayterous flattery and divellish dissimulacion and many other inconveniences, the providence of God, I say, hath ordeined by lawe that in this House every one hath free speech and consent, and that he doth injury to the whole realme that makes any thing knowne to the prince that is here in hand without consent of the House, or that bringeth any message from her Majestie into this House to draw us from free speech and consent. (*PiPE* 1:129-130)

Lambert suggests here that some members of Parliament, presumably those who have direct access to the sovereign, might transgress the formal boundaries between court and Commons, reporting the unrefined speech uttered in debate or issuing a command to preempt deliberation. These members clearly corrupt the system: Making "any thing knowne to the prince" without "consent" was equivalent to offering the unfinished, undigested work of Parliament as fit for the sovereign's consumption. Likewise a "message from her Majestie . . . to draw [the Commons] from free speech and consent," cut short the work of Parliament, producing either a premature bill, or no bill at all—as was the case with succession. Lambert takes pains to label this a violation ("injury") of the natural system "ordeined" by "the providence of God." But now he also refers explicitly to a breach of "lawe," presumably the Common Law, which he suggests also to be God's instrument ("by") of ordination.

The elegance of Lambert's account of England's constitutional monarchy becomes evident where he describes its systemic dysfunction, an account that

surreptitiously invokes traditional observations about the common failings of courtly discourse, observations often presented in *speculum principis* texts. Lambert seems to suggest that “flattery” and “dissimulation” naturally arise where there is an assumption that the sovereign is listening. While these forms of speech might be appropriate for certain kinds of courtly rhetoric, as Puttenham suggests and the opening ceremonies seem to verify (see second chapter), they become “traitorous” and “devillish” in the Commons. There, even more than in the Privy Council, the measure of rhetorical success was not whether the sovereign approved, but whether the whole body gave its “consent.” (Raleigh’s Justice suggested a similar virtue in the actions of Parliament—see previous chapter.) While Lambert’s key constitutional point here seems to be that breaches in Parliamentary protocol result in the very “evills” (i.e., misinformation) that members had gathered to “prevent,” his insinuation is all the more poignant given its characteristic association with courtiers, who among the MPs were generally Privy Councilors and their clients.

Given the veiled accusation in his hypothetical stipulation, we should not be surprised that he follows it with a somewhat more traditional rhetorical flourish, one that finally owns up to the now clearly provocative voice he apologized for at the outset. He declares, “Mee thinkes I heare one obiect that I goe too farr, for so there may be a law made to endanger the present state of the prince.” But even this explicit recognition that dissenters in the audience might charge him with treason eventually returns to cool rationalism—even cooler legal technicalities. Lambert here refuses to pledge his loyalty or his righteousness any more than he had already done in his opening citation of Cicero. He chooses rather, once again, to approach the issue as a logical hypothesis:

I answere that true it is (if God forsake us) we may give our consentes in this place, as in any other, to indanger the present state of the prince; yet it is noe lawe. Wherin marke the providence of God, for that he would have free speech and free doings in this place; and to withdraw her Majestie's mynd from misliking therof, he hath removed all daungers from her Majestie, for he hath taken all power out of our handes, soe that we cannot in this place doe her Majestie any harme if we were therein never soe willing. The reason is he hath ordeined by lawe that all things agreed upon by the Parliament are dead and noe lawes, untill she hath quickened them and given them life by her royall assent. Thus you see that God hath, of his great mercy and favour, providentlie provided both for the prince and people in this place.

The Commons house might indeed be a source of imbalance in the body politic, admitting a council of conspirators or a mob of unruly democrats. But against this fear Lambert suggests that the author of this system ("God") has created a failsafe. As I noted in earlier chapters, the process of royal assent occurred on the last day of each session and was the final step in making law. All the bills passed by both Lords and Commons were brought before the monarch to be ratified. If a bill were not "quickened" at that time by the monarch's assent, it remained forever "dead." Real threats to the royal person, from Lambert's perspective, could not come from the debates within the Commons, which were supposed to be a closed venue of discussion, or even from the finished product of those debates, the Parliamentary bills, which had only provisional statutory power. By pointing to the simple constitutional principle of royal assent, Lambert counters the objections of courtiers who would speak up for the Crown prerogative in restraining Parliamentary free speech, all the while confirming the Crown's final say in bringing a law to life. What better point to punctuate his naturalist exposition of England's constitutional monarchy?

This passage does indeed end Lambert's systemic analysis of the English body

politic, a subject that he began to discuss by defining the head of that body, declaring first “what the word ‘king’ doth signifie,” but which he ultimately came to elaborate in terms of the comparative functions of various subordinate members, organs of the head and members of Parliament, in assisting the sovereign. He has throughout maintained a distanced, descriptive break down of how monarchy works, addressing ethical principles only briefly, in terms of bureaucratic, official functions or hypothetical dysfunctions.

In the immediate passage above, however, Lambert begins to refer to himself and the Commons more directly, even as he offers a legalistic refutation to the hypothesized counter-argument. The closing sentence most vocally shifts the focus from abstract generalities about political science to particulars about the present Parliament. The current state is good, not necessarily because England has fought off those foreign threats catalogued by Privy Councilors in their subsidy speeches (see previous chapter), but more due to the healthy system of English government. Here all the references to God as efficient cause of every element of the system are summed up in an expression of thankfulness for the current state of affairs. Somewhat surprisingly we find that, throughout his objective exposition, he has been fulfilling his earlier announced purpose, “to declare some part of [God’s] great goodnes.” With his tautological assertion of the cause of English prosperity—God has “providentlie provided” for its safety—Lambert next turns to the reciprocal duties members of the system owe to its author and each other. First, I should quickly note that this repeated citation of God as primary efficient cause of the present peace, a notion that might otherwise seem a simple and commonplace, directly and amply refutes Sadler’s (and probably other Councilors’) emphasis on Elizabeth as the *one* to thank (via subsidy) for England’s relative prosperity.

Implications for Personal Conduct: Love and Duty for Councilors and Queens

Following upon his acknowledgement of God's goodness to England, Lambert next tells the audience how to avoid being dysfunctional members themselves, by redirecting the above-noted hypothetical account of such members towards individual MPs, reminding each to be good custodians of God's gifts:

These great benefittes of God towards us are not here to be neglected, but to be used with thanksgiving to his glorie and the common commoditie of this noble realme. And I doe hope that it wilbe thankfullie taken, both of the prince and state, if every one of this House will discharge his dutie and conscience according to the confidence that of the whole realme is reposed in him: for the whole realm hath chosen us to sitt here diligently to enquire what is beneficiall or hurtfull for the same, and to provide accordinglie. Wee sitt not here to take care for ourselves only and so to hearken out what the prince or such a magistrate that is in greatest favour with her doth affect, and to feede their humors to attaine such a suite: that were meere impietie. (*PiPE* 1: 130)

While Lambert gradually shifts from natural philosopher to moral philosopher, we see his propositions (now more prescriptive) nonetheless revisit earlier observations about how the system of English government works in general. The most obvious reconciliation with previous propositions appears where he reiterates the overarching office of the head and its helps—“diligently to enquire what is beneficiall or hurtfull”—in defining the particular duty of individual members.

He also builds upon his earlier stipulations about the formal separation between head and Parliament by warning individuals not to “hearken out” Elizabeth's affections. The danger of crossing the courtly boundary is, like before, recognized in a corrupting use of material cause, here aptly represented with an alimentary metaphor (“to feed their humors”). The most significant differences between this passage and Lambert's earlier

descriptions of the Parliamentary system is that here he emphasizes the individual over the institution and leaves the sovereign out entirely as cause of the council's gathering. Rather, he emphasizes that the common people "hath chosen" *each* MP "to provide accordinglie" the deliberative inquiry incumbent upon Parliament generally. By performing this function, and seemingly only that function, members avoid neglecting their duties, which for Lambert is the same as using God's gifts as intended—a point that resounds to and enhances somewhat the opening keynote.

Here finally is the central assertion of the first part of Lambert's speech: that MPs should *openly* and *vocally* "enquire what is beneficiall or hurtfull" for the country. Such a claim is beyond the pale of classical rhetorical objectives, which assumed all citizens speaking out had equal voice about all matters. Orators may need to construct a persuasive *ethos* to give their voice equal (or greater) *efficacy* among others, but the *right* to construct that *ethos* was not generally questioned. Instead of debating free speech itself, the ancient orators would focus on specific deliberative measures such as Aristotle had identified (i.e., finance, war, etc.).

Lambert's extended assertion that common MPs should speak out to "enquire what is beneficiall or hurtfull" for the commonwealth sounds rather like the rhetoric textbooks themselves and their observations about the province of deliberative speaking. As we saw in the first chapter, most classical rhetoricians defined the purpose of deliberative oratory as persuading towards some common advantage or good, or to avoid harm. Lambert, like the classical rhetoricians, teaches the fundamental aims and offices for counselors in a deliberative venue, in this case the House of Commons. To be sure, Lambert centers his arguments on institutional *duties* and not the *efficacy* of oratory, yet

his speech bears textual features akin to the principle-based pedagogical writing used in the ancient rhetoric textbooks and their early modern successors, not to mention treatises on politics, medicine, and, finally, ethics. The speech so far is a compendium of Parliament as an institution, rather than a voice for a particular cause.

So what is the rhetorical strategy behind this *compendius* treatment of Parliamentary speech, in a venue that would otherwise seek to “get down to business”? The audience probably knew that Lambert expected to connect this general principle about Parliamentary duties of MPs to the specific cause of pursuing the suit for succession, not the least because his non-specific approach nonetheless censured (by way of insinuation) Cecil’s recent message from the Queen. Yet the specific cause of succession, the one ultimately recorded by the Clerk as the first part of the speech, Lambert still leaves unidentified.

There are two good reasons for Lambert’s opening with this dialectical treatment of monarchical and Parliamentary duties: First, the recent wrangling with the Queen necessitated caution. There is the obvious possibility that Lambert thought he might be called to order on the basis of the Queen’s command, something done many times later in Elizabeth’s Parliaments (see previous chapter). By speaking in general terms, Lambert can perhaps say something indirectly regarding succession—in fact, his speech so far argues obliquely the case for debating that specific subject within the Commons, should individual members find it relevant to pursuing goods and avoiding evils for the commonwealth. Second, and more important, the debate on the very topic of succession had been fairly overrun, to the point of becoming stalled (as I noted above). By speaking with the methods of dialectic, Lambert returns to the first principles of statecraft. He does

so, moreover, not by reviving Cicero or other ethical or political treatises, but rather by composing his own philosophical analysis of Parliament. Instead of debating details about succession head-on (so to speak), he establishes the general and principal duties of all parts of the English commonwealth. In the subsequent sections of the speech, we shall hear how Lambert reconciles these opening principles to specific arguments for succession; for now we should simply recognize how his opening does not only show caution, but also presents arguments that may yet be used to assert more traditional deliberative causes.

There is another good reason to go into such depths about the duties of various members of English government, once again, as a means of responding to and refuting previous speeches with greater intellectual depth. In the course of debating the merits of succession and, more particularly, the proposal to tie subsidy to succession, Privy Councilors had attempted to persuade the Commons by exhorting them to “love and duty.” For demonstration we need only look back to Sadler’s oration for subsidy, where he struck his keynote with a proverbial sentence: “for her Majestie is the hed of our comen weale, and being the hed of our comen weale that which is good for the one cannot be evill for the other.” While the body of Sadler’s speech reasons on the safety and profit of giving subsidy, he closes his oration with repeated reminders of the “duetie” of “good and lovyng subiectes” to their prince. The ending call to give subsidy for honor’s sake seems to imply that love and duty are reason enough; this reason is also Sadler’s chief argument for why the Commons should not pursue the petition.

I noted in the earlier chapter that Sadler’s calls to love and duty actually reflect (without explaining) the classical principles of distributive *justice*, a subject treated in

both ethical and rhetorical manuals, including Cicero's *De Officiis*. In rhetorical manuals, however, honor and, by implication, virtue and duty are strategically invoked commonplaces, not subjects of debate. Having now a comparison in Lambert's treatment of a subject's duty, we can see how Sadler's invocations of honor and justice serve as undeveloped reminders, mere spurs to actions (hence their emphasis in the closing sections) in comparison to Lambert's fuller instruction on the natural system out of which a commons citizen's duty is derived, a point he develops gradually from his very opening definition. Sadler's speech provides no explanation about *why* it is dutiful and loving for subjects to give a subsidy in support of the sovereign, beyond simply as a point of thanks for good government, whereas Lambert teaches his fellow subjects at length about why the duty to speak out helps benefit and maintain the body politic. Sadler expects his closing commonplaces and opening maxim on the body politic to be taken for granted, whereas Lambert assumes that a short treatise on the fundamental nature of monarchical and Parliamentary duties is necessary before deciding a specific course of action.

Out of context, Lambert's oration may well be the long, tedious dissertation identified by Hartley, but following the Privy Council's message from Elizabeth and earlier arguments from Sadler on the duty of giving subsidy, the speech represents one MP's recourse to the intellectual high-ground of dialectic, the language art wherein terms are clarified and made exact. So far Lambert's focus has been clarifying the duties or offices under England's monarchy: he has been defining the natural functions of the head and lower members as corrector of earlier commonplace references to the body politic.

This responsiveness to earlier invocations of duty becomes even clearer as Lambert begins to wrap up the first part of his speech. Here he puts under close scrutiny

the commonplace calls to love for and duty to the Queen, especially by analyzing what “love” means within the context of Parliamentary duties already outlined:

Let love be without dissimulacion, sayth St Paul, for if our doings heere proceede not of love unto the prince and state, but be seasoned with dissimulacion, they are malacious unto them both. For this principle cannot be gaynsayd: that which is good or evill for the head is good or evill for the whole bodie and everie member therof; and that which is good or evill for the bodie or any member therof, is good or evill for the head. Surely he that feedeth the prince’s affection to the hurt of the common wealth hurteth and hateth aswell her Majestie as the commonwealth. And he that hurteth the prince to benefit the common wealth hurteth and hateth aswell the common wealth as the prince; for the prince and commonwealth ioyned together make a perfect man consisting of head, bodie and members, and cannot be separated. Then to conclude this point. Doest thou hate the one? Thou hatest both. For in truth the prince cannot love or hate her self, but she must love or hate the common wealth, and the common wealth can neither love or hate itself but it must love or hate the prince in like manner. Then being this knot is so indissoluble, the greatest love that any man can shew unto them both is to provide for the greatest mischief towards them both, the which is my speciall and dutifull intencion.

Before examining Lambert’s scriptural stipulation on love (his first biblical reference, but far from his last), notice how his second sentence echoes Sadler’s proverb about the benefits to the head being good for the whole body, essentially reconfirming the principle of mutual interdependence, a principle that Sadler had raised to justify his speaking out for the Queen’s good. Lambert, however, fleshes out the metaphor in accordance with his earlier method, emphasizing not just the head and body, but other differentiated parts (“any member therof”), in order to remind listeners that the *mutual* interdependence of the body restricts members from giving greater respect to any one individual (no matter her status) over the whole. This point both rings true to the keynote of the speech and reminds listeners that the head is indeed dependent upon the body.

Aside from presenting a bottom-up perspective on the figure, Lambert also

reminds the audience that the fortune of each individual member has like implications for the whole. Whereas Sadler had only emphasized doing good for the head as necessarily *not* evil for the body, Lambert runs through all the permutations of propositions that might follow the same principle that good and evil cannot exist simultaneously in the same body, effectively turning the tables, asserting that a malady to a lesser member must necessarily fall ill on the head, in spite of the latter's higher status. Lambert's statements sound repetitive because they do indeed repeat the same principle with singular variation each time. This calculation of logical consequences tempers what might otherwise be accepted as a seductively sweet sounding rhetorical commonplace.

This assiduous reasoning on the commonplace of mutual interdependence consequently shapes the disposition of love into a much clearer ethical construct, one that can actually be applied as a measurable standard. The connection between love and duty becomes consequently clearer and stronger. First, Lambert links (by way of Paul) the earlier assertion condemning dissimulation to the condition of having a loving disposition. Then, after running through the potential for both good and evil to each member of the commonwealth, he joins the ideas together, asserting that the act of dissimulation ("feed[ing] the prince's affection") represents the opposite of love ("he . . . hateth") and consequently causes the very evils ("he . . . hurteth") that the council of Parliament was brought together to avoid. To emphasize the ethical implications, Lambert again runs through the permutations, noting how a lack of love for either the whole or an individual member, even the "prince," necessarily shows a lack of love for both. This point he supports by repeating the interdependence principle with greater emphasis: "the prince and commonwealth ioyned together make a perfect man . . . Doest

though hate the one? Thou hatest both.”

In regard to flattering speech, Lambert takes pains to articulate that such an act represents the opposite of love and duty, because it fails to live up to the natural role of Parliament, which should look out for the commonwealth’s wellbeing. Notice how this focus on the failure of duty not only condemns dysfunctional members, but it also turns the tables on Sadler’s call to duty, which was used to argue that the Commons should give subsidy and silently await the Queen on succession and marriage. Lambert rather claims that such outward acts of “love” may actually hurt all involved: one’s “affection” for the head overwhelms the necessary attention to lower members or the commonwealth.

If Lambert were on this occasion to conform to more traditional oratorical manner, like Sadler, he may well have eschewed his somewhat belabored ratiocination and concluded his argument with a simple reference to Paul’s sentence, a suitable maxim for asserting free speech (as long as it also is plain) in a Christian commonwealth. Yet then he would have left the audience with dueling proverbs from which they could pick sides as convenient. He chooses rather reasoned instruction for moving the audience to exercise the moral principles in question. A fuller account of the ethical system at work helps him clear away doubt (about speaking out) and refocus the audience on implications for conduct of each member, Councilors and commoners alike.

This brings us, finally, to another important consequence of Lambert’s dialectical approach: His general reasoning through principles of duty allows him to theorize about the Queen’s conduct as well (“she must love . . .”), in effect returning to his earlier definition of “king.” The “prince” is subject to the moral and natural premise of mutual interdependence, as are the lower members of the body politic. Lambert again runs

through the relevant permutations, this time in regards to the relationship between Queen and country, showing finally the “knot” binding the fortunes of the prince (and lower members) to the collective disposition of the commonwealth. The lower members, whether they love or hate the prince, mirror the prince’s own disposition. This observation reassures fellow commoners that an act of true love for the Queen will ultimately be reciprocated, no matter her momentary displeasure. Indeed, when the body initiates the exchange of love, it puts the burden on the head, whose conduct may be judged for its own love or hate of loving commoners. Lambert places so great a confidence in this principle that he is willing to act on it, showing the “greatest love” by speaking out about matters that the Queen might disapprove.

Cutting the Knot with Testimony (or Inartificial Arguments): Lambert’s Pauline Subtext

As justification for speaking out in Parliament, the first part of Lambert’s oration provides great clarity for the audience—some might argue, to the point of being pedantic, not an unfair assessment given the didactic method. But the “knot” left at the end of the last passage requires some resolution. The mutual love between members of the body politic may indeed be the sustaining disposition enabling individuals to achieve goods and avoid evils, but the application of this principle raises an important question: How does one determine what constitutes a truly loving act? How do we know what specific duties follow from a genuine loving disposition, besides simply acting without dissimulation? Such questions about special duties are usually answered in ethical literature such as conduct manuals. Even the more philosophical texts lead readers from the general habits of mind to more specific recommendations for ethical action,

effectively applying the fundamental ethical calculus to particular common problems.²⁴

Lambert seems to do so only in regards to Parliamentary *speech*. Beyond speaking out, the loving care in seeking goods and avoiding evils is fairly undirected.

In fact, his citation of Paul to support free speech in particular points us in the direction towards which Lambert expects us to draw further guidance, that is, towards scripture, the fullest and most authoritative guide to moral conduct for Christian citizens. As we shall soon see, Lambert's key justification for declaring succession stem from citations of scripture. The quotation here, from Rom.12.9, foreshadows the strategy that he will use in the second part of the speech, as he transitions from an abstract, naturalistic dialectical method to a scripture-centered sermonic address.

We should be careful not to see the two approaches—rationalistic and anagogic—as paradoxical, like Sadler's duplex oratory proved to be. Renaissance doctrine on dialectic accommodated religious topics quite well, as our discussion of efficient causes above illustrated. In fact, beyond helping logicians recognize God as the primary moving force in nature, the art of dialectic provides guidance for integrating scripture, not to mention other texts, into the process of reasoning and debate. The use of "inartificial arguments"—that is, propositions borrowed from other thinkers, rather than developed through the art of dialectic itself—is cautiously encouraged. To help the thinker determine the validity and relevance of inartificial arguments, textbooks suggested

²⁴ Cicero's *De Officiis* provides a useful example. His treatment of the four cardinal virtues in the first book, divides them one by one into subordinate moral qualities that may be readily applicable to day-to-day life. Unlike in his rhetorical texts, where he gives at most a paragraph length description on each virtue, for the orator's pragmatic use, Cicero here expounds for multiple pages. Later, in the third book, Cicero goes into greater detail concerning situations where honor and profit seem to conflict. There he treats hypothetical matters such as when and why to give an oath (3.26-28).

turning to dialectic's other tools for verification, including both the inventional topics and syllogistic forms. The topic of efficient cause once again proves invaluable to the thinker in such cases, because, where statements are presented as true *a priori*, as is the case with the first principles of an ethical system, the first step in confirming their veracity is assessing their source; hence the selective skepticism Renaissance thinkers use to evaluate writings of pagan philosophers, some being fully depraved, others Christians in pagan garb (as Cicero was often assessed); hence the vigorous attempt to apply scripture, the one text from an unimpeachable efficient cause, to every possible worldly situation.

Lambert's naturalistic exposition of England's constitutional monarchy leads well enough to his claim for free speech, but he chooses to add scriptural confirmation for the purposes of clarifying the concept of love, which we already saw was tightly connected to his concept of duty. His examination of love as a form of mutual interdependence established some pragmatic points concerning the benefits and evils to the body politic. With the citation of Rom. 12.9, however, Lambert adds more authoritative testimony to back the claim that free speech is a Parliamentary duty. In fact, the verses surrounding Rom. 12.9 support well his earlier abstractions about the various duties of England's political body, though Paul speaks more directly of the body apostolic:

4. For as we have many members in one bodie, and all members have not one office, 5. So we being many are one bodie in Christ, and everie one, one anothers members. 6. Seing then [ty] we have giftes that are divers, according to [ey] grace that is given unto us, whether *we have prophecie, let us prophecie* according to [ey] proportion of faith: 7. Or an office, *let us waite* on the office: or he that teacheth, on teaching: 8. Or he [ty] exhorteth, on exhortation: he that distributeth, *let him do it* with simplicitie: he that ruleth, with diligence: he that sheweth mercie, with cherefulness. 9. *Let love be* without dissimulation. Abhorre that which is evil, and cleave unto that which is good. 10. Be affectioned to love one another with brotherlie love. . . . 16. Be of like affection one towards

another: be not hie minded: but make your selves equal to them of the lower sorte: be not wise in your selves. . . . 21. Be not overcome of evil, but overcome evil with goodnes. (*Geneva Bible*, 1560 translation)

The ninth verse is the only one highlighted in the speech, but Paul's account of the church body reflects the very reasoning Lambert used to explain the political body, at once emphasizing unity and the necessary differentiation of parts, ultimately for the collective pursuit good and avoidance of evil.²⁵ But besides recounting specific duties in fairly mundane terms, Paul identifies the singular motivation for doing those duties, which is a proper loving disposition. The ninth verse, the one quoted by Lambert, begins a series of verses identifying what proper Christian love entails: besides involving a genuine appreciation of good and hatred of evil (presumably distinguished by God's commandments), Christian love also seems to demand an equitable regard for others, in spite of recognized social differences.

With its emphasis on "office" and particular duties, Romans 12 serves as scriptural analogue to Lambert's dialectical dissection of the body politic. Like a philosophical treatise on ethics, Paul holds all members to general principles, even while showing how the particular duties differ depending upon one's place in society. The principle of "brotherlie love" ties Paul's chapter together, articulating, in terms of personal conduct, what it means to be "one anothers members." In regard to those duties, we should note the calls to "exhortation" and "teaching," duties often associated with

²⁵ The side-notes in the 1560 English translation of the Geneva Bible actually cross-reference the fourth verse identifying "many members in one bodie" with 1 Cor. 12, a chapter that examines the body of the church with as much care as Lambert does England's political body. In fact, Lambert's recurrent iteration and variation of the ethical principles discussed in the previous section has a model in Paul's Corinthian text, as does Lambert's view that equal love and differentiated duty (depending upon station) keeps the body thriving.

oratory and dialectic, duties that resemble Lambert's own call to speak.²⁶

I would argue, however, that the most important office cited by Paul for Lambert's purpose is that of "prophecie," which represented a slightly different branch of discourse for early modern reformers, one especially tied to scriptural interpretation. Indeed, since scripture was seen as the only reliable source of absolutely true arguments, the office of prophesying, which might best be described as amplifying scripture for rational and emotive purposes, went hand-in-hand with that of teaching and exhorting, since the latter two offices required some scriptural verification and direction to be considered part of the Christian ethic.²⁷ It is no coincidence that the otherwise weak transitional sentence preceding Lambert's quotation of Paul criticized the self-serving affection shown by favor-seekers as "impietie" (see above). According to Lambert, their dissimulations show a misunderstanding of religious Christian love, an ignorance of the Gospel, or worse, a lack of true faith—all of which can best be corrected by prophesying from scripture. As we shall see, Lambert takes upon himself the office of prophet, and he does so with greater and greater confidence (apparently he has been given the necessary "proportion of faith"). While he retains his earlier role as dialectical instructor, his subsequent edicts on conduct sound more sermonic, echoing Paul, reciting scripture, and resounding exhortations to love—the more so as he fulfills his "speciall and dutifull

²⁶ Both modern and early modern scholars of rhetoric have found Paul to be an instructive example of Christian public speaking, especially one derivative of the classical rhetoric thriving at the time of the Apostles. See George A. Kennedy, *Classical Rhetoric* (1980), 129-132; Kees Meerhoff, "The Significance of Philip Melancthon's Rhetoric in the Renaissance" (1994).

²⁷ The footnote to the verse on prophesying in the 1560 *Geneva Bible* reads, "By prophesying here he meaneth preaching and teaching, & by office or ministerie, all suche offices, as apperteine to the Church, as Elders, Deacons, &c."

intencion” to engage the specific political issue that, in spite of Elizabeth’s injunctions, dominated the 1566 session.

IV. *Ars Praedicandi*: Prophesying and Praying before the Polis

Here we come to the crux of Lambert’s speech, where he turns from an implicit refutation of Sadler’s point that certain issues were beyond the purview of Parliament, to one making an extended argument on the very issue Sadler had pleaded to avoid, that is, succession. Having opened the field of Parliamentary oratory to all matters that might benefit the commonwealth, Lambert enters a transitional section that finally broaches the subject of succession explicitly. In fact, it is difficult to find a clear break between the preceding arguments for free speech and subsequent arguments for declaring succession. The very act of announcing his explicit intent to discuss succession, which he does in the middle of this transit, puts a rhetorical period at the end of what he has argued so far, specifically, by moving to pursue the aborted petition. If he stops here, he has made an effective, carefully reasoned case for speaking out, not just about succession, but about every issue of concern to the body politic. By naming the particular issue of succession, he merely completes his dialectical journey from generals to particulars, coming to rest on the subject of debate dominating the rhetorical moment. These next passages complete the first part of Lambert’s oration as described by the Clerk, the part moving for renewing a suit to the Queen against her will, but they also open on the particularities of the suit, the need for a declaration of succession, a measure that Lambert argues by way of prophesying, a method far less canonical than either classical rhetoric or Renaissance dialectic, and therefore one I will elaborate upon in a moment.

The transition to Lambert's fuller, prophesying section combines (fittingly) a sanctimonious diatribe against self-serving politicians (the kind who pass messages to the Queen) with a vaunted call to speak out, one supported no less than by scripture:

Now methinkes, I have the wise and politique men of this world saying in my eare: 'Thou foole, beware for offending the Queen's Majestie.' To them I answere: yee foolish flattering politiques, would yee avoide the prince's displeasure? Do well then, and soe shall yee be praised the same. But if yee doe evill, then feare, for shee is the minister of God, to the benefit of him that doth well and to take vengeance of him that doth evill. These sentences of the Holy Ghost, and the reasons above recited, may sufficiently prick forward any that feareth God or loveth the prince and state to seeke out the inconveniences that may any way offend or indanger either of them, to the end that they may be here presented. In such causes we ought all to sett aside feare and to be bould. and Although I be one of the meanest and simplest of this House, yet out of very love to my prince and cuntrie I will open unto you one of the greatest woundes and soares that is into our prince and her counsell in honor and conscience (God's holy religion only excepted), yea and doth also declare so much the want of love and dutifull consideracion of this House to the safetie of this most noble ile of England as none can more. (*PiPE* 1:131)

Notice how this passage does not yet explicitly identify the issue of succession as “one of the greatest woundes and soares” of England. In fact, it will take another paragraph for Lambert to examine that wound openly, as he takes on the role of surgeon for the body politic, a role he has prepared for by first identifying the body's key anatomy and then by attempting to render the Commons chamber antiseptic, in particular, by trying to keep outside political influences. He probably knew that this venue would be no more antiseptic than a real surgical stage of the period. No wonder he cites scripture calling the faithful to “[d]o well” boldly in the face of threats, a somewhat ironic exhortation given how cautiously he has approached the main subject of debate. The “sentences of the Holy Ghost,” interestingly, are Romans 13:3-4, which in the 1560 *Geneva Bible* (probably in many other bibles) resides on the page facing the previous quotation from Romans 12.

The passage quoted above not only begins to “open” the wound of undeclared succession, it also presents the rhetorical division and key topics of persuasion to be developed in the remainder of the speech. The division includes three key parts each directed at three constituencies of the Elizabethan Parliament. In the first two sections, he plans to treat the “prince and her counsell in honor and conscience.” In the third section, he will “declare so much the want of love and dutifull consideracion of this House to the safetie of this most noble ile of England.” Just as he identified the separate offices in the dialectical opening, he now addresses them separately and, as we shall see later, takes special consideration about what each entity’s role in the body politic should be.

At first glance, it may appear that Lambert is headed towards typical deliberative arguments, since he invokes special topics for that genre (“honor” and “safety”). In a moment, we shall see how these classical topics, which play such an important role in Stoic philosophy and the rhetorical treatises espousing it, can be referred to another ethic, namely, an Evangelical Christian ethic, one tempered moreover by a healthy dose of Calvinism. In fact, the most classically inclined arguments of the remainder of the speech include a relatively brief section tellingly labeled by Lambert a “digression” (*PiPE* 1:132). That section recounts and refutes the counter-arguments that Elizabeth offered in her 5 November speech. Elizabeth had argued that a declaration of succession would endanger her person by emboldening dissatisfied subjects to expedite the transfer to a new monarch. This being a classical deliberative point based on safety, Elizabeth refers to attempts on her sister Mary’s life as an instructive paradigm. This reference to Mary serves as Lambert’s key route to rebuttal. Lambert points out that Mary was more probably in peril of revolt because the people did not “love” her, which was itself a

reflection of her hard-hearted treatment of them. Elizabeth, by contrast, was loved by all, and so therefore safe from attempts on her life, at least according to Lambert.

While Lambert's point by point rebuttal of Elizabeth's objections to declaring succession reflect techniques of traditional public (or even academic) debate on deliberative issues, his focus on the reflective dispositions of sovereign and subjects forecasts his turn in direction even as it hearkens back to his early analysis of loving duty. Soon we shall see that Lambert has much more to say on what it means to have a "loving" disposition and how that relates to honor, conscience, and duty. This is apparent in the passage where he actually refers to succession for the first time, a passage that once again draws upon scripture for support:

This greivous wound is that want of the establishment of the succession of the Crowne of England An hard heart hath he that hath either read or heard of the dissention for the crowne from King Henry the 4th untill King Henry the 7th and will not endeavour himself, to the utmost, to prevent the like. Every kingdome devided within itself, sayth Christ, shalbe desolated. If two titles did hazard the crowne heretofore, what then are many like to doe hereafter? (*PiPE* 1:131)

Here the words of Jesus are reconciled with history to form a kind of text-based diagnostic instrument for understanding the current civic crisis. Of course, there really is no *immediate* crisis noted here. His urgency comes from what *may* happen, the possibility of a divided kingdom. While the tendency might be to search out heretofore unrecognized matters of present interest, identifying circumstances that would seem to give rise to specific threats (as Privy Councilors do in their subsidy speeches), Lambert rather focuses on the disposition of those who would decide the matter of whether or not to declare succession. One who does see the urgency of the threat has a "hard heart." Such a disposition, as Lambert's prophesying attempts to show, breeds dissention and division,

the very conditions that lead a kingdom to ruin, as Jesus declared.

While it would be easy to cite a few of Lambert's citations of scripture to illustrate a prophetic voice, since this dissertation is about Elizabethan oratorical composition in particular, I will instead present a brief account of the "prophesying" method as an unauthorized (and fairly undocumented) language art, one that nonetheless was influential in English civic discourse. The more zealous members of Elizabethan Protestant culture actively participated in unsanctioned spoken-word "exercises" having their own conventional forms and methods for applying scripture to contemporary social issues. Lambert appears to follow some of those guidelines quite deliberately.²⁸

Prophesying as a Social Movement and Language Art in Early Modern England

THE ORDER AND SVMME of the sacred and only methode of
Preaching

1. *To read the Text distinctly out of the Canonickall Scriptures.*
2. *To give the sense and understanding of it being read, by the Scripture it selfe.*
3. *To collect a few and profitable points of doctrine out of the natural sense.*
4. *To applie (if he have the gift) the doctrines rightly collected to the life and manners of men, in a simple and plaine speech.*

The Summe of the Summe.

Preach one Christ by Christ to the praise of Christ.

This excerpt from the colophon of William Perkins' *ars praedicandi*, first published in Latin in 1592 and later translated into English by Thomas Tuke as *The Art of Prophesying* (1607), provides a succinct account of a traditional Puritan approach to sermonic discourse. Although the book itself is directed towards "godly ministers," not

²⁸ For my discussion of prophesying culture I draw upon Patrick Collinson, *The Elizabethan Puritan Movement* (1967).

laypersons directly, the “methode” it outlines proves accessible to readers outside the circle of ordained clergy. Indeed, the clarity of the instruction, following Ramist dialectical guidelines for didactic composition, opens scripture and sermon discourse to all literate members of the church, providing for them a few simple guidelines for “understanding” the “natural sense” of the text. Readers who were familiar with Ramist dialectic, for example, lawyers and other literate gentlemen not pursuing ecclesiastical appointment, would find this text utterly transparent.²⁹

The accessibility of the instruction presumably helped the Protestant flock better interpret the Bible, but it also encouraged them to use scripture to direct everyday conduct. While the ability to “applie . . . the doctrines rightly” as a public speaker might be limited to those who “have the gift,” a stipulation echoing Paul’s edict on prophesy, such a gift was not assumed by Perkin’s method (or reforming “ministers”) to be dispensed by the Church of England. Many advocates of “prophesying” among laypersons refer readers to a distinctly inclusive passage about prophesying to support its common exercise: 1 Corinthians 14:31, “For ye may all prophesy one by one, that all may learn, and all may be comforted.”³⁰ In taking on the prophetic voice and calling his

²⁹ Ramist rhetoric and dialectic were particularly egalitarian and far reaching in their aim to educate the masses. This humanist interest in translating university style language arts into the vernacular can be seen in Wilson’s own textbooks on logic and rhetoric, but also in numerous English translations of Ramus’s texts, some of which highlight areas of particular interest to readers not attending university, such as Perkin’s text does: Dudley Fenner’s *The Artes of Logike and Rethorike* (1584), for instance, provides a lengthy methodical treatment of “gouernment of the familie”; Abraham Fraunce’s *Lawiers Logick* (1588) includes an extensive methodical treatment of “the Earle of Northumberland’s Case” (125-139), which would have interested Common Law lawyers. See also W.S. Howell, *Logic and Rhetoric in England*, 173-246.

³⁰ The verse appears on the title page of Jeremy Taylor’s treatise *The Liberty of Prophesying* (1647), which advocated tolerance among reforming sects. The fourteenth

fellow MPs to do the same, Lambert appears to be applying this scriptural edict to “the manners of [Parliament] men,” treating the gathering of the Commons as a Puritan “prophesying exercise,” where the authority of scripture is accessible to all, and all are obliged to “live”—or *speak* and *vote*, as the case may be—the word.

For those familiar with the highly regimented, top-down discipline of Elizabeth’s Church of England, the perceived politic dangers of prophesying exercises should be readily apparent. Patrick Collinson’s *Elizabethan Puritan Movement* (1967) documents the public unrest that surrounded these unofficial meetings for the specific purposes of “prophesying.” According to Collinson, these exercises took on two forms, one, a meeting of a few like-minded, literate Protestants, for example, university students and lawyers; and the other, a pseudo-public meeting attracting a broader range of the devout Puritan flock, including tradesmen and women. According to Collinson, the latter form reached its peak in the early decades of Elizabeth’s reign, before Elizabeth chose an Archbishop of Canterbury (Whitgift) more exacting in church discipline than either Grindal (who was sympathetic to prophesying) or Parker. Since the exercises were often led by non-conforming ministers, any benefit participants would receive in bolstering their Christian faith would be offset by unauthorized religious indoctrination, indoctrination that often encouraged critique of unreformed (i.e., conforming) clergy. Needless to say, this was not simply a problem for bishops. Rather it produced a forum for popular coalescence and dissent, one faith-based and participatory, one that could not

chapter of Romans was referenced too by Grindal in trying to convince Elizabeth not to outlaw prophesying session (see discussion below). Other verses in this chapter of Corinthians appear in the first chapter of Perkin’s instruction (1), where Perkins introduces the concept of prophesying.

help but become a force of broader social changes—hence Collinson’s claim, “the prophesyings did more than any other agency to propagate and establish the new religion in Elizabethan England” (51). While these sessions may indeed have been key to changing the religious face of the nation, here I will emphasize that the meetings themselves provided the most accessible model for laypersons to use in applying scripture to contemporary political issues.³¹

While Perkins’ publication postdates the heyday of prophesying exercises and probably represents the university form (given its original Latin composition), we might nonetheless read his textbook as reflecting a conventional Puritan approach to open discussion of scripture, one that Lambert might have encountered in one of these pseudo-public gatherings or, more likely, in communion with a few learned university men or lawyers.³² Like many composition “arts,” prophesying is broken down into procedural steps.³³ The four steps from the colophon reflect the process outlined by Perkins in the

³¹ The meetings seem to have been the subject of urban myth, at least as accounts of them were conveyed to Elizabeth by her conforming clergy, who tended to highlight both the audacity of non-conforming ministers claiming to “prophesy” and the uncouth, sometimes contentious participation of laypersons treating scripture directly. Yet in 1576 Archbishop Grindal, who was an advocate of a broader-based clergy, provided a more moderate account of the events, presenting them as not just demonstrating faithful attention to scripture, but indeed enacting Paul’s call to prophesy (Strype 326).

³² Collinson, *Elizabethan Puritan Movement*, 125.

³³ I have already discussed how logic and dialectic were broken down into invention and judgment—to steps that were not always presented in the same order: Wilson and scholastic logicians present judgment first, while Agricola and Ramus present invention first (see Howell, 157-8). Rhetorical texts are often distinguished by whether or not they follow the five “Ciceronian” steps of invention, arrangement, stylistic enhancement, memory, and delivery. Many Renaissance rhetorical texts focus primarily on style (i.e., using tropes and schemes) or simply provide examples instead of procedural instruction, as was often the case with epistolary manuals. See W. S. Howell, “Traditional Rhetoric: The Three Patterns,” in *Logic and Rhetoric in England*, 64-145.

body of the text and are themselves a further digested version of the bifurcated Ramist diagram presented in Perkins' original Latin and Tuke's translation. As indicator of how this text goes against the preaching paradigm of the contemporary Church of England, which published canned homilies and demanded conformity to their usage, there is an abundance of guidance in working directly with scripture. Most of the text treats the proper reading of the Bible, that is, understanding the “natural sense” or “litteral” meaning of sacred texts (30-31), but also the “right cutting of the word . . ., whereby the word is made fit to edifie the people of God” (90). Instruction on interpretation alone, the second step in the colophon’s task list, takes up well over half the book and includes guidance for resolving meaning according to the “analogie of faith” (31-32), collating related passages that the “meaning might more evidently appear” (32-45), and expounding passages either “Analogical & plaine, or Crypticall and darke” (45-89).

For our purposes, however, we are most interested in the “right cutting or the right dividing” of the word (90-129), because this step yields more obvious textual markers (beyond the basic collation of scriptural passages) with which we can compare Lambert’s speech. The division of scripture for the purposes of preaching is bifurcated by Perkins into two steps, “Resolution or partition, and Application” (90-91). The first step, *resolution*, concerns the promulgation of Christian doctrine and is further bifurcated into “Notation, or Collection.” The first, *notation*, is a simple scriptural citation from where “the doctrine is expressed in the place propounded.” Resolution by *collection*, however, recognizes that many questions and themes may be addressed obliquely in scattered

Perkins' text is procedural, but does not follow the Ciceronian pattern promulgated by other textbooks on *ars praedicandi*. See the following note for comparisons.

passages. The act of collection consequently addresses the use of places in scripture, where “the doctrine not expressed [outright] is soundly gathered out of [that] text” (92). This basic definition of “collection” is followed by a suggestion to use “the helpe of the nine arguments [of dialectic], that is, of the causes, effects, subiects, adiuncts, dissentanies, names, distribution, and definition.”³⁴ This then is followed with a few sample collations of scriptural passages wherein one “place” having no clear doctrine itself is connected, based on one of these arguments, to another that provides more explicit doctrinal points. These interpretive acts are reflected and summed up in the third step of Perkins’ colophon, “To collect a few and profitable points of doctrine out of the natural sense.” The “natural sense” seems, based upon Perkin’s instruction, to coincide significantly with the “dialectical reading” discussed in the first chapter, a method that used the dialectical topics, typically used for invention of arguments in disputation and teaching, as analytical lenses for identifying the arguments in literary works.³⁵

But Perkins provides further instruction on *collection*, especially to aid the faithful in finding Christian doctrine applicable to their everyday lives. This instruction highlights the traditional a type of analysis that generally follows from a collection of doctrine using definition and division: These two topics lead to a consideration of *genus* and *species*:

³⁴ This list reflects the outline of arguments in Ramist books, both in order and number. These nine arguments plus inartificial arguments form a list of ten, albeit with subdivisions under each. This missing ninth artificial topic in this list is "comparison," which usually follows dissenting arguments in Ramist enumerations. See W.S. Howell, *Logic and Rhetoric in England*, 155-56. Note that "names" is closely associated with the notational resolution used for straightforward interpretation of scripture. See also the discussion of “dialectical reading” in the first chapter.

³⁵ Scripture, like Cicero’s speeches, were subject to “dialectical reading”—see first chapter. Fenner’s analysis of “household” draws on such reading, routinely citing scripture to support the logical analysis of his subject.

In gathering of doctrines we must specially remember that an example in his owne kind, that is, an Ethique, Oeconomique, Politique, Ordinarie, and Extraordinaire example hath the virtue of a general rule in Ethique, Oeconomique, Politique, Ordinarie, & Extraordinaire matters. The examples of the fathers are patterns for vs. 1.Cor.10.11. *And whatsoever is written, is written for our learning.* And it is a Principle in Logique, that the *Genus* is actually in all the *species*: and a rule in the Optiques, that the generall species of things are perceived before the particular. (94)

The New and the Old Testaments are filled with “examples” or “patterns” for our “learning,” what modern treatment of Puritan reading often label *types*. The foundation of proper collection of doctrine, then, rests not only on interpreting scripture logically and literally, but also on linking the particular situations of living persons, by way of common genus to analogously typed persons in scriptural passages. The doctrine in scripture, whether clearly stated or in need of collection, offers a “rule” that may be translated to the lives of early modern Christians. Consequently, one textual marker in prophesying sermons will be the presentation of passages (a collation) discussing a particular genus of the human condition, followed by explanation of how the typical condition spoken of in scripture tells members of the audience something about their own lives.

While the *resolution* process provides a way of deriving doctrine from scripture, the *application* process tells ministers of the word how to make the presentation of doctrine fit the particular audience addressed. Unlike the classical *ars rhetorica*, which divides the audience (and consequently genres) according to an institutional venue of delivery (e.g., Forum or Senate), the early modern *ars praedicandi*, following upon medieval precedents, tailors the message according to the conditions of faith in the audience. Perkins lists seven conditions: “Unbelievers who are both ignorant and unteachable” (102); the “teachable, but yet ignorant” (105); those who “have knowledge,

but are not yet humbled” (109); the “humbled” (112); those who “doe beleeeve” (115); the “fallen” (116); and finally, “a mingled people” (121).

In speaking before the ignorant, the sermon serves as rudimentary spiritual sustenance: A minister first delivers “Milke,” or the basic “principles” of faith,” and later “Strong meate,” or a more “copius . . . handling of the doctrine of faith,” especially in the form of “the Catechisme” (106-8). To those educated in the principles of Christianity, however, the presentation of doctrine must be much more responsive to their particular dispositions, and that requires further distinction regarding the tenor of the collated passages used to prophesy, whether they be “Law” or “Gospel.” According to Perkins,

The foundation of Application is to know whether the place propounded be a sentence of the Law, or of the Gospell. For when the word is preached there is one operation of the Law, and another of the Gospell. For the Law is thus farre forth effectuall, as to declare vnto vs the disease of sinne, and by accident to exasperate and stirre it vp: but it affords no remedie. Now the Gospel, as it teacheth what is to be done: so it hath also the efficacy of the holy Ghost adioyned with it, by whom we being regenerated, we haue strength both to beleeeue the Gospell, and to performe those things which it commaundeth. The Law therefore is first in the order of teaching: and the Gospell second. (100)

As the closing sentence points out, this distinction between Law and Gospel is not only a means of describing the substance of the sermon, but it is also a guide for formal division. Indeed, the specific instructions for addressing particular audiences, which Perkins presents after the passage quoted above, focuses on how to temper the presentation of Law and Gospel to indoctrinate and instruct that audience, whether that guidance requires bringing the prideful low, correcting the fallen, or simply preaching to the choir. For the most part, the guidance orchestrates the various means of citing Law to “exasperate” a fallen audience into reconciliation with God or to “stirre . . . vp” some other emotive

reaction to their own sin. This sets up a condition where Gospel can then “remedie” the now open spiritual wound. Most of the specialized instruction for addressing particular audiences, then, explains how much of Law or Gospel to let loose and with what doctrinal emphases, in order to achieve the proper emotional responses that would lead the sinful to repent and the faithful to rejoice (after expressing due remorse). We can identify, then, two textual markers for prophesying: first the ordering of doctrine (and its accompanying scriptures) into two separate sections, one emphasizing Law, the other Gospel; second, the evoking of particular emotions in conjunction with these presentations of doctrine, especially as attempts to evoke sorrow and despair.

There is, finally, one somewhat incidental marker of prophesying shown above, a marker that we have already seen in Lambert’s speech: the metaphor of the physician providing a “remedie” for common ills (cf. Perkins 117-118). Through this metaphor and the distinction between Law and Gospel we can connect Perkins’ teachings to the writings of an earlier student of Calvin, Theodore Beza, whose *A Brief and Pithie Summe of the Christian Faith* was printed in London in 1563, 1565, and 1566, the years before Lambert’s oration. (The 1566 edition is quoted here). Beza’s *Pithie Summe* provides a doctrinal of Calvinism, one that is full of the stronger meats of Christian faith. Under his essay on “The Holy Ghost,” Beza addresses the role of preaching in reformed Christian faith (53-57). Before treating the act of preaching, however, he introduces the distinction between Law and Gospel, noting how the one is “naturall” (not unlike the Common Law referenced by Lambert in his opening section), and the other is “supernatural” (51). The first is “naturally in man, in whose harte God prynted and engraved it from the creation,” and yet has been “litle by litle . . . quenched and blotted out . . . through the corruption of

sinne.” Thus original sin reflects the inherent propensity to try to act against the laws of nature. “But the Gospell sheweth us where we shall finde that whyche we have not, and fynding it, how we may enioy it, and so deliver us from the malediction and curse of the law” (52^v). This supernatural “remedy & medicine” (52), which both complements and cures the law, is a “grace and gifte of god, who reveled it unto Adam sone after his fall, . . . and after to the patriarches and Prophets, from generation to generation as semed good to hym” (51-52).³⁶ The preacher must then present both parts of scripture, declaring at first the “malediction and curse” of the law, that is, providing a reminder of the human inability to live up to it (cf. 54^v)—“For that man will never come to the Phisition to bee healed, whych thinketh not himselfe to be sicke” (55^r). Only after a promulgation of Law does the preacher remind readers that all is not lost and that God has provide a supernatural means to redemption. In regards to “external preachyng” (55), Beza sums up the entire purpose of this “instrument of the holy Ghost,” which is to “create faith,” and he does so entirely with reference to the two forms of scripture: “Now ye maye see how the holy Ghost by the preaching of the Gospell healeth wound which the preaching of the law has discovered and layed open” (56^v).

Lambert has just begun to expose the wound caused by Elizabeth’s failure to declare succession. What he still has left to do is provide some doctrine for diagnosing the nature of the disease, so that proper healing can take place. As already suggested, both the diagnosis (Law) and the cure (Gospel) come from scripture. The remainder of the speech provides collations and explications of a few relevant passages, and does so

³⁶ A few pages after this section, Beza points out the Roman Catholic error of assuming that the New Testament is synonymous with Gospel and that the New Testament says nothing of the Law. Gospel and Law appear in both testaments (56).

with a kind of amplification that assures that the prophesying of God's good news never drowns out the "malediction" of judgment against sinners: as we shall see, Lambert clearly views himself as addressing the fallen and prideful, not merely the ignorant.

A Collation on Kings: Honor and Conscience for Christian Magistrates

In returning from his "digression" rebutting Elizabeth's counter-arguments to declaring succession, Lambert rather bluntly opens into a discussion of the topic of Elizabeth's "honor" (*PiPE* 1:132), the first part of his promised plan to treat both her honor and conscience, then the honor and conscience of the Privy Council, then finally the love and duty of the Commons. Key to understanding Lambert's scriptural arguments on succession is to acknowledge how the turn to prophesying both converges with and diverges from the arguments presented up to this point concerning the "offices of the prince" and the duties of MPs. Lambert's prophesying will ultimately revisit key elements of his earlier dissection of the body politic.

Recall that Lambert's opening arguments for free speech constitute an abridged conduct manual of sorts, one initially based on the nature of England's constitutional monarchy, yet one ultimately reconciled with scripture (by way of Paul's letter to the Romans). Lambert's opening call to speak out for love and duty establishes certain obligations for Parliamentary conduct. While the key points of conduct concern common MPs and Privy Councilors, as noted earlier, he also provides guidelines for the conduct of princes, namely, that they protect and promote the commonwealth and that they should do so by allowing the Commons to speak freely as a means of gathering information.

Although Lambert presents these arguments with initial attention to a dialectical,

secular, and naturalized approach (albeit with repeated reference to God as the efficient cause of England's government), he ultimately cites scripture for doctrinal purposes, in particular, teaching Paul's lesson on "dissimulation" as a "profitable point" regarding the fulfillment of love and duty through honest free speech. This reference to Law in scripture can be seen as a complement to Lambert's outline of the natural law governing England's body politic—together they reflect the kind of composition (dialectically driven interpretation) at the heart of prophesying discourse. Though the most important marker of prophesying, scriptural citation, does not appear until the end of those earlier arguments for free speech, Paul's edict nonetheless proves key to resolving what Parliament members must do. Lambert, moreover, presents a vivid reminder of nature's "curse," both where he reminds listeners of the insufferable condition existing when members of the body politic hurt each other and, more poignantly, where he cites Jesus's edict on divided kingdoms, a generic point of doctrine on worldly kingdoms, one that Lambert backs with reference to specific English examples, namely the War of the Roses and Mary's short reign. In this final section of the speech, such scriptural edicts on "the curse" become more and more resonant, even as Lambert revisits and revamps his naturalistic arguments on the body politic.

In fact, Lambert's points on *honor* overlap quite significantly in method and principle with his earlier stipulations for Parliamentary conduct, even as his later points on *conscience* turn rather in a new direction, towards a scripture-initiated outline of the absolute requirements of Christian conduct for individuals. Both prongs of Lambert's prophesying call out God's Law: the first (on honor) concerns situational obligations to others Christians, particularly in terms of the natural laws governing God's body politic

and the need for loving interaction; the second (on conscience) highlights rather type-specific (i.e., genus-specific) obligations for God's flock as benchmarks for faithful action. Put into other terms: the passages on honor concern the expression of humane virtues in worldly contexts (loving thy neighbor as thyself), while the passages on conscience concern a Christian's diligence in doing his or her assigned duties as a measure of one's faith (fearing the one true God).³⁷ There is clearly an intersection connecting these two points of focus, but Lambert prefers to separate the two, a strategy that helps him to highlight two different approaches to debating the issue, one focused more on worldly consequences and one looking more towards the judgments from on high. Packaged together, the twin appeals no doubt resonate quite well with the Calvinist audience who were educated nonetheless by humanist scholars.

Given that Lambert's points on the honor of declaring succession essentially build upon the same general theoretical principles that he employed to argue the need for free speech in the Commons, we should not be surprised that he repeats similar discursive movements here. Indeed, he starts this section of the speech with another, albeit briefer, definition for the word *king*, using that as his stepping stone to doctrine: "First, the etimologie of this word 'king' in the Greeke doth signifie, as I have heard, the foundation or holder up of the people" (*PiPE* 1:132). While he does not yet cite scripture, Lambert does provide a run-of-the-mill notational treatment of the central theme, once again using the logical exposition of the office of the king as a kind of natural law, one reflected in the very roots of the terminology. The main difference between this definition and the one presented in the opening section is the switch from the Latin based term for monarch

³⁷ We are perhaps seeing a distinction between the First and Second Tables also.

(i.e., prince from *princeps*) to the Greek, the language of the New Testament. The Greek word for king, *basilius*, shares a root with the English word *basis*, hence Lambert's emphasis on the king as "foundation or holder up of the people" (1:132). Lambert's earlier definition foregrounds the decision making power of the royal person; hence his emphasis on how those decisions required counsel from the "helpes" to the "brayne."

This new perspective on monarchy emphasizes more the function of the royal person as the bedrock of state, a source of stability: it concerns the *aims* of a monarch's decision-making, that is, stability, more than the proper means of making such decisions, as was central to Lambert's arguments for free speech. The ability to direct the body politic, while a central duty for all monarchs, may not be as important as simply assuring that the office itself remains on firm footing. This is the basis of Lambert's claim that the Queen must declare succession to spare her honor and "uphold" England:

Then since God hathe placed her Majestie to be the upholder of the people of England, and that, if for want of a knowne successor after her decease, this people committed to her charge should, through unnaturall dissention, for the maynteyning of sundry titles that might might now be easily discussed in her Majestie's life time, shedd infinite quantity of innocent bloud and therby the state be utterly overthrowne, what great dishonour would this be to her Majestie? (132-133)

Obviously, the traditional deliberative topic of *safety* plays a role here, but not as key to persuasion in its own right, rather, as merely a measure of whether this monarch has fulfilled her stabilizing duty. Choosing from the traditional deliberative topics, Lambert clearly favors *honor* over *safety* (to say nothing of *profit*). While it is common in conduct manuals (at least since Cicero's *De Officiis*) to give preeminence to honor (albeit with qualifications), Lambert's downplaying and dismissal of Elizabeth's concerns (about real threats to her own safety) arise from an assumption that the eventualities in question

(“unnaturall dissention”) necessarily demand that Elizabeth herself would already be in a much safer place (so to speak).³⁸ The monarch, simply a tool in God’s design, must put his or her honor before personal safety for the peace of the kingdom. For Lambert, Elizabeth’s self-sacrifice would reflect her natural obligation to her “most deare and loving subiectes”—hence his feeling that the earlier arguments assuaging Elizabeth’s fears for her life constitute a digression: her personal safety is irrelevant to the question of what honorable queens should do. Here Lambert again echoes the opening keynote where he used Tully to insist on putting the family and commonwealth before the individual.

This short section, like much of the longer opening section, acts in its own right as an abridged *speculum principis* founded entirely on the logical consequents of the nomenclature and the larger genus. By itself, this brief definition of the term king, may easily be read as a purely dialectical argument, and not sermonic in form, even with the reference to God as efficient cause of the crown (“God hathe placed . . .”). Yet the earlier citation on divided kingdoms clearly dovetails with this stipulation on the crown as foundation for the commonwealth. For kings and queens, the natural law created by God demands that they by all means provide a stable foundation, which means avoiding the kinds of division that crack the bedrock of state. This explication according to the logical topic of *name* (or “etimologie”) echoes the earlier declaration of the law judging divided kingdoms by highlighting the unifying role of the monarch who dutifully passes on the

³⁸ See previous chapter for Renaissance concerns of the relative weight of *honor*, *profit*, and *safety* in ethical decisions. Cicero's *De Officiis* places honor before profit. Perhaps this is what John Stubbes refers to as he begins his *Gaping Gulf*, "IN all deliberations of moste priuate actions, the very heathen are wont, first to consider honesty, and then profit. . . . Oh the strange Christianity of some men in our age, vvho in their state consultations haue not so much respecte to Pietie as those first men had to honesty, nor so much regarde to honestie, as they had to profit" (A.2^r).

crown with clear, uncontested succession.

Whether or not the audience actually makes the connection back to earlier scriptural citations, the weakness of this reasoning is the assumption that Elizabeth will perish before producing a natural heir, a project that Privy Councilor's claimed to be in the works, at least the first step, marriage. To argue that succession should nonetheless be declared in the interim, Lambert must convince the audience that the omission of this safeguard is itself a breach of duty. For this essential point, Lambert uses scripture directly: "Christ sayth, 'Give unto Caesar that which is due unto Caesar'"(1:133).

The verse cited clearly references Elizabeth's social genus, she being the English Caesar, but Jesus's words seem to declare Law for subjects, not kings. To see how Lambert ultimately reads this passage as relevant to the sovereign's honor, we must first note that, prior to quoting Jesus, Lambert recounts the subsidy given to Elizabeth by Parliament in the previous session. The topic of taxation links the Commons' current situation generically to the scriptural passage, which could not be more apt for treating the phenomena of English Parliamentary subsidies. But, as we know, the issue of subsidy was also linked by various speakers of the Commons to succession. It is through this secondary connection that Lambert calls Elizabeth's actions (or lack thereof) into question: "Even so, it is Ceasar's dutie to yeald protection and defence unto his people. Now what greater dishonour can there be unto her Majestie than to denie th'establishing of a successor, for what whereof is like to ensue much unnatural dissention and bloudshed" (1:133). Lambert sees subsidy and succession as two reciprocating articles of a divinely refereed social contract. In his view, the Commons had been giving unto Caesar freely up to this point of Elizabeth's reign. The question then arises: What really

is “due unto” Elizabeth now, who so far refuses to give recompense for her subsidies in the form of a declaration of succession (cf. Rom. 13.7)?

While Lambert’s reading of the passage may be self-servingly literal, it is not altogether inappropriate for discussing honor according to contemporary views, both humanist and Christian. First of all, Lambert’s argument for Elizabeth’s reciprocation mirrors that provided by Sadler for the Commons giving subsidy. Recall that Sadler invoked the concept of distributive justice to move the Commons to give its fair share (monetarily speaking) in safeguarding England from foreign threats, both to compensate Elizabeth for her past service as warrior queen, and to maintain current efforts in national defense. Lambert’s arguments build upon the same principle, although he sees Elizabeth as falling short on her end of the bargain by not providing the insurance of clear succession. Both Sadler and Lambert view the key point of honor as a matter of reconciling debts of duty, though the two MPs clearly balance past and future expenditures disparately. Yet, while Sadler’s accounting may reflect more the political realities of national defense, Lambert’s prophesying presentation has the added weight of Christian virtue, placing honor above profit and *personal* safety. He offers Jesus’s call to give Caesar his due as a variation on the concept of Christian social duty, that is, to act with mutual love, to fulfill worldly obligations to our neighbors. The Commons had shown their love by giving “full consent” to the last subsidy, and “in soe doing they did but their duties”; now Elizabeth must do her duty as sovereign and repay her “most deare and loving subiectes” with her own act of love (1:133).

My guess is that this one-verse collation on the sovereign’s honor would not strike most modern readers as particularly compelling, especially given the wealth of

alternate biblical narratives on kings and their actions. But Lambert's audience, more vigorously indoctrinated in scripture, might readily have connected this lesson to the earlier quotation of Jesus.³⁹ And those familiar with and accepting of the prophesying method might have seen Jesus's comments on taxation as particularly worth examination in deciding whether it was right to give recalcitrant Elizabeth another subsidy.

In turning next to Elizabeth's *conscience*, Lambert's collation of scripture grows threefold. Moreover, he is not ashamed, once again, to reiterate previous points. Here, however, he does turn more immediately and directly to the Bible:

Now I will shew you how it toucheth the Queene's Majestie in conscience to make the successor knowne. First, the king is a ruler, yea, such a ruler as is by God made the head, and the people the body. . . . Therefore, hearken now what the spirit of God sayth of a king. 'Behold', sayth Esay, *caput* 32; 'a king shall reigne in justice, and princes shall rule in judgment'. The prophet Ezechell calleth kings by the name of 'shepherds' (34.23) saying, 'I will sett a shepherd over them, and he shall feede them, even my servant David. He shall feede them and be their shepherd'. And I Timothy, 2.1 are these wordes: 'I exhort therefore that first of all supplications, praier, intercessions, and giving of thankes be made for all; for kings, and for all that are in authoritie, that we may leade a quite and peaceable life in all godliness and honestie'. Now let us examine the contentes of these three sentences of the Holie Ghost what kings ought to be, how they ought to governe.

Lambert next provides an equally long passage where he "examine[s]" these passages, extracting doctrine in its simplest terms. First, he translates the "justice and judgment" of Isaiah's prince into a demand from God to exercise "upright government both in religion and policy." Lambert then sheds light on Ezekiel's metaphor of the shepherd, noting that the "dutie of a shepherd consisteth in three pointes: first, to see his sheepe fedd . . . ; the seconde is to keepe and defend them from the wolfe . . . ; the third is to cure them of their

³⁹ Interestingly, Wilson draws on this passage for his discussion of "horned arguments" in *Rule of Reason*, 214-5.

griefes” (*PiPE* 1:133-134). The first two duties of the shepherd correspond quite well with those of the head in the body politic, but the third duty adds a new obligation to the head of state, one that conveniently coincides with the language of spiritual affliction raised earlier. In any case, notice that these first two scriptural passages provide general guidelines or aims for the actions of the sovereign. Here, the guidelines for conduct urge attentiveness to duties as a matter of Godly living, not as a matter of reacting to worldly obligations to others, as was the case with Lambert’s prophesying on Elizabeth’s honor. To be sure, there is a significant overlap between the two doctrines, but as will be made clear in the next section, the failure in honor primarily harms Elizabeth’s worldly status, whereas her bad conscience reflects a failure in faithfulness or religious status.

But the third passage quoted above seems also to address the religious status of common people: 1 Tim. 2 calls on subjects to pray for “magistrates” for “peaceable life in all godliness and honestie.” Like Lambert’s earlier quotation of Jesus on paying taxes, this passage is curious for its addressee, which seems to be subjects, not kings. Lambert indeed confirms that the passage concerns the people’s obligations, not those of the prince, who is rather subject to the people’s action in prayer: “And the words of St Paul are that we should make prayers for kings and magistrates. I pray you, Mr Speaker, marke to what end: that, sayth he, we may leade a quiet and peaceable life in all godliness and honesty” (*PiPE* 1:134). But there is a key link to the other places on conscience, since this passage also addresses absolute duties. The people should pray for the sovereign’s righteous action as a matter of course, regardless the circumstances. While this edict for the people’s conscientiousness seems a little out of place here, since it addresses more directly the third division below, where Lambert plans to speak about the

duties of the Commons, it would seem to present an indirect statement on the duties of the Christian sovereign as well, implying that a godly head of state should accept this oratorical form of aid unconditionally. Where Lambert later speaks more directly to the Commons, he amplifies this doctrine, expounding more vividly the curse of not following it—but he also connects the call to prayer directly to the earlier issue of free speech.

A Doctrinal on Succession: Collecting Profitable Points for Elizabeth's Application

Following this initial collation and notational resolution of specific passages associated with kingly honor and conscience—to borrow the terminology of prophesying—it may seem strange that Lambert still feels a need to treat them further. This next section of the speech probably reflects the very type of material Hartley views as “tedious” and “repetitive.” After all, Lambert has already connected these four quotations (not counting those presented earlier) to Elizabeth herself, via the genus of kings and princes. And in regards to Elizabeth’s honor, he has also directly connected the singular doctrinal point to the specific issues of succession and subsidy. As it stands, then, this section seems flawed to modern readers, a perspective, I would argue, that does not take into account Lambert’s adherence to formal guidelines of prophesying.

The formalistic nature of the section reveals itself in its opening: “Now I will make my collection.” But two subsequent passages also cite structural markers: one begins, “The summe of that which concerned the Queene’s Majestie in honour to establish the succession consisteth in these 4 pointes . . .”; the other, “Now I will give you the summe of those reasons that are to move her Majestie in conscience to establish the succession” (*PiPE* 1:134). Lambert’s declaration that he presents his “collection”

sounds formal, yet it might be read simply as another “summe.” If it were just a summary, then traditional rhetorical form would probably place it at the end of the speech, just before the closing exhortations (*Ad Her.* 2.29.47; *De Inv.* 1.52.98). We know rather, from our earlier discussion of Perkins’ prophesying, that a “collection” stands for an involved form of scriptural *resolution*. And if Perkins’ guidelines can be taken as an epitome of earlier prophesying, we know also that this act of extracting doctrine from reading often involved reconciling the passages treating a broad genus to a particular case. This is exactly what Lambert does in the subsequent subdivisions on honor and conscience, where he refers to Queen Elizabeth with reference to earlier points. If there is an abuse of form, it is rather that he jumped the gun in his earlier collation by noting Elizabeth’s particular situation too early.

The compositional method here reflects much of the same principle of reasoning used by Lambert in his opening discussion of free speech. The collection and application to Queen Elizabeth in particular takes previously presented, yet more general points, and reiterates them in relation to a narrower subject, effectively pushing the principles further and further, one step at a time, until they address the specific issue at hand. Consequently, in this “collection,” Lambert first repeats the earlier points of doctrine, sometimes to the word, merely replacing the general category of kings and princes (or shepherds and magistrates as the case may be) with specific references to Elizabeth. After placing Elizabeth into the formula, he reasons still a further step to address the immediate issue at hand. The repetition may be tedious to the modern reader, yet it may well have proved “learned,” as the Clerk recorded it, to contemporary readers familiar with oral disputation, which demands greater repetition to convey and contradict complex ideas.

Remember that Lambert's contemporaries would sit over an hour to hear one monologue sermon and equally long in appreciation of disputations on abstruse topics.

The four points on Elizabeth's honor as it pertains to succession, then, further the original definition of a king as "upholder" by emphasizing the nature of this obligation to her current subjects. The first point reiterates the general doctrine: 1) "her Majestie ought to be an upholder, and not an overthrower, of the people." Each subsequent point explains how a clear declaration of succession fulfills this primary duty by removing the causes of a divided commonwealth: 2) a declaration of succession would cut off "contentions [for title] that may hazard the state or shedd innocent blood"; 3), it would "remove the eyes of all forreyne enemies from . . . taking any advantage whereby they may revenge their malice and ease their malicious hearts"; 4) it would avoid "much unnaturall dissention and bloudshedd, espetiallie of her Majestie's most deare and loving subiectes" (*PiPE* 1:134). Rather than resist a declaration, Elizabeth's honorable course, her duty to a loyal people, is to insure that no contest for succession took place. Lambert then takes this point another step further, suggesting that the most honorable means towards resolving this issue, one that cultivated the mutual love between sovereign and subject, involved *consulting* the subjects on succession, or at least their representative eyes and ears: "she [should] suffer the same quietlie in this place to discusse the title of succession, to keepe us in naturall love, dutifull obedience and safetie."

Without this closing note on "deare and loving subiecties" and keeping the people in "natural love," this collection on Elizabeth's honor would roughly be the same as that subsequently offered for conscience's sake. As mentioned before, however, the key difference between honor and conscience in Lambert's prophesying is that the former

concerns worldly obligations to fellow Christians, whereas the latter concerns absolute Christian duties, which may relate to worldly obligations, yet that also treat the ability to live up to God's law more generally. Lambert's closing point on Elizabeth's honor subsequently amplifies the worldly consequences of losing the people's love, beyond simply the stain of "dishonour":

And to conclude this matter, I doe affirme that [this threat to the Queen's honor] will be the greatest danger unto her Majestie's present estate that may be. The reason is the chieftest and readiest meane presentlie to robb her Majestie of the heartes of her subiectes is to let them knowe that she loveth them not, and that she careth not what become of them after her decease.

Lambert's earlier arguments echo here: Was not this Mary's chief problem a lack of the people's love? Was it not Mary's own fault that she lost such love, by acting dishonorably and unnaturally? Did not then this internal division threaten Mary's own person? Lambert here emphasizes that similar consequences would befall Elizabeth, if she chose to breach the social law of reciprocity, that is, if she chose to "robbe" herself of the people's love. He omits mention of the subsidy-succession connection here, yet he does present the duty to declare succession as founded on a natural law that demands that the people's loving acts be reciprocated in kind by the sovereign. This breach of natural law, in this case, a form of larceny, consequently results in the same curse that befell Mary, the same one that befalls all kingdoms wherein the head is severed from the body.

In comparison, the subsequent "summe" on Elizabeth's conscience seems relatively reserved, in spite of this topic's more pious attention to scripture. Rather than focus on the "perill and danger of the present estate," or call attention to otherworldly

retribution (a stereotypical topic for later Calvinist preaching⁴⁰), Lambert simply repeats his earlier scriptural resolution inserting “her Majestie” here and there to bring the general doctrine into present circumstances. These restatements are not worth repeating, though the subdivision as a whole does add one new point on princely conduct, one on the sovereign’s absolute duty as a Christian to cultivate right religion. A reference to this duty appears most vividly in Lambert’s closing points on Elizabeth’s conscience:

All this is as much to say that the Queene’s Majestie ought, yea, it is her bounden duty to bring up us her people in the feare of God and true religion, politiquely to governe us that we may be defended from all perills, and to binde up and heale the woundes that we may live quietlie nad peaceable in all godliness and honestie; the which cannot be without the succession be established and all inconveniences—I meane so many as may by Godlie policie—be prevented. (*PiPE* 1:134)

This summary refers back to the duties of the protective shepherd safeguarding the flock and acting with a due judiciousness. Yet the focus on consequences turns away from the earlier emphasis on worldly outcomes due to breaches of honor. Whereas the earlier collection on honor focused on the contributing causes of the state and sovereign’s eventual demise, all of which can be prevented by declaring succession, this sum on conscience presents a limitation of succession as the efficient cause of a pious nation, a state that has “feare of God and true religion,” wherein the people live with “godliness and honestie,” and the magistrates rule by “Godly policie.”

Here Lambert gives no reminder of the curse that follows a breach of these duties, but there is a clear and distinct emphasis on the connection between conscience and true religion or piety. This connection fits the Calvinist model. The side-notes to the Geneva

⁴⁰ Jonathan Edwards, “Sinners in the Hands of an Angry God” (1741). Edwards’s sermon also seems to follow Perkins’ method, beginning with simple notation, and then moving to collection of doctrine and application.

Bible for Rom. 13 glosses “conscience” as “a binding of faith,” and Beza had emphasized that the purpose of preaching was generally to edify faith. Lambert’s prophesying here draws on scripture, namely passages that refer to kingly duties, to suggest that the sovereign’s conscience, the extent to which he or she enacts “Godlie policie,” not only demonstrates his or her own faith, but becomes the key cause in binding the faith of a nation to the one, true God.

When reconciled with Perkins’ method, Lambert’s greater zeal in treating honor and worldly consequences over breaches of faith and eschatological reckoning provides some clues to Lambert’s general perception of the nature of Elizabeth’s offense, or sin. Perkins bifurcates his “application” for the “fallen” audience into two different conditions, those “Falling in faith” and those “Falling in manners” (116, 120). While Lambert’s reference to both honor and conscience suggests that he views both calamities too possible, his emphasis on the negative outcomes of not doing some specific state action, that is, declaring succession, clearly reflects a “falling manners.”⁴¹ Lambert’s tepid presentation of the doctrine concerning a sovereign’s duty to uphold religion shows that he does not view Elizabeth as lacking true religion (or at least he will not suggest such a thought in public).⁴² Actually, he sets his argument up so that Elizabeth’s action with regard to her honor will, in effect, show her true colors: whether she has faith or not. Not only would fuller public accusations against Elizabeth’s faithfulness be somewhat

⁴¹ Perkins explains, “*grace remaining in respect of her vertue and habit* may be lost for a time in *respect of sense and working*” (120).

⁴² Looking back at Lambert’s division to the prophesying section of his speech, we see that he allows, by way of a parenthetical qualifier, that her faith is not failing: “I will open unto you one of the greatest woundes and soares that is unto our prince and her counsell in honor and conscience (God’s holy religion only excepted) . . . ” (see above).

counter-productive and resoundingly contradictory to popular opinion that she was the restorer of reformation in England (even if not to the degree desired⁴³), but they would also distract from the aim that Elizabeth perform a specific action. By constructing a doctrinal lesson wherein her single good work edifies the religious status of the whole commonwealth, Lambert creates a scenario whereby Elizabeth's personal faith, which she regularly espoused, will be insufficient to justify her actions, if those actions do not then edify the love and duty, and consequently the faith, of her good Protestant subjects.

This emphasis on good works may sound ironically un-Calvinist in an exhibit of Puritan prophesying, yet Beza's *Pithie Some* affirms the principle that good works are not only part of the reformed religion, but also that they are indeed parcels of true faith.⁴⁴ Likewise, Perkins' textbook promotes the attention to behavior as a measure of faith where it further breaks down the process of "application." Going beyond the initial outline of audience, the instruction also distinguishes two general "kinds of application," one "Mentall" and the other "Practical." The latter kind of prophesying clearly attends to worldly actions, or the merits of good works and the demerits of bad. Indeed, the first subdivision of "Practical" application is "*Instruction . . . whereby doctrine is applied to frame a man to liue well in the family, common-wealth, and Church.*" The key issue in 1566, a public declaration for Protestant succession, appears to encompass all three of these worldly domains; Lambert, to be sure, views himself as providing "instruction" for safeguarding each. Beyond the kinds of issues addressed by "practical application,"

⁴³ Collinson, *Elizabeth Puritan Movement*, 29-44.

⁴⁴ As transition to a section titled, "Those doe slaunder vs falsely which saye, that wee disallow good workes," Beza declares, "this faith which we speake of can be no more without good workes, then shining Sunne without light, nor the fire without heat" (*Briefe and Pitthie Summe* 27^v): To think the effect does not follow the cause is absurd.

Perkin's guidelines also teach a method for applying such doctrine to Christians failing in some practical doctrine. This appears under subdivision labeled "correction":

Correction is that, wherby the doctrine is applied to reforme the life from vngodlines and vnrighteous dealings. Hittherto belongs admonitions. This must be done, first generally, the circumstances of the persons being omitted. . . . Afterwards, if the former reproofe preuaile not, it must be vrged after a more speciall manner. . . . But alwaies, in the very hatred of sinne, let the loue of the person appeare in the speeches; and let the Minister include himselfe (if he may) in his reprehension, that it may be more milde and gentle. (124)

Besides reflecting Lambert's genus-to-species approach, Perkins' sermonizing method also reflects the common dialogic nature of prophesying, as part of a meeting or discussion of scripture, rather than as a pulpit monologue. Perkins' form of correction, which follows closely upon his instruction on resolution by collection, starts with references to the addressee's genus, and only proceeds to specific "reproofe" in response to some sign of resistance from that addressee. Lambert uses both steps in a single speech, probably because Elizabeth's most recent messages to the Commons exhibited the kind of recalcitrance demanding special correction. Although Lambert's form may be modified slightly for the circumstances, he nonetheless follows the other advice for winning over the fallen, warning of impending danger for acting dishonorably, all the while emphasizing the "love" of the people to their queen. Later, where he prophesies on the failures of the Commons, he also places himself amongst the sinful. Before then, however, he has much more specific applications for Elizabeth's Privy Councilors.

Applications for Privy Councilors: Moses' Self-Sacrifice and the "Curse" on Kingdoms

Lambert's doctrinal on the Queen's honor and conscience has so far been treating

an absent party, positing a measure of Christian conduct for sovereigns, though none were in the room.⁴⁵ Typically, as we may gather from Perkins' instruction on *correction*, the beneficiary of prophesying was a direct addressee, some member of the flock in need of direct intervention. Yet Parliament, as we saw in Lambert's earlier arguments for the constitutional basis of free speech in the Commons, included a built-in assumption (at least in Lambert's idealistic vision) that the sovereign does not listen in on the individual speeches on the floor; rather he or she would only react to the advice and utterances that came forth with the whole approval of the lower house. Lambert did acknowledge the porous walls of Westminster, and perhaps he perversely hoped that Elizabeth would get word of his edifying doctrine. In any case, the effectiveness of such indirect advice depends upon the disposition of the messenger. Lambert consequently turns towards a correction of the Privy Council, who most directly inform the head in making decisions.

As we know from Lambert's earlier dissection of the body politic, Councilors are organs of the head, that is, extensions of the sovereign's power. Although many of them were in attendance, Lambert opens his address to them in the same third-person form he used to speak of the sovereign's duties: "And as to that sayd, that it toucheth the Counsell in honour and conscience to move her Majestie to provide a knowne successor, forasmuch as by the scriptures kings and magistrates ought all to runne one course and be

⁴⁵ Her absence may explain why Lambert's biblical collation is more general than necessary with regards to Elizabeth's genus and how sovereigns should act in consideration of succession. The Lords' 1563 petition to Elizabeth actually provides a much more apt collation on what scripture has to say about succession (*PiPE* 1:61). Lambert's selections, especially his scripture on taxation, tend rather to highlight how Elizabeth's action (or lack thereof) should be interpreted by the Commons in light of Christian doctrine. He has chosen passages that enable him to cast the hypothetical eventualities of a divided kingdom as present injuries to the people; to cast inaction as a lack of love, and therefore in need of correction from loving Christian brethren.

guided by one rule” (*PiPE* 1:135). Here Lambert begins to redirect the earlier doctrine gathered from scripture on kings and magistrates towards a specific application for the *counselors* of kings, towards the middle-magistrates who serve the sovereign as advisors. They also have erred: “The reasons before rehearsed concerne them as nearlie as the prince; howbeit much more are they to be blamed then [sic] the prince for that this great and universall inconvenience hath not been prevented before this time.” The basis for the Councilors’ greater burdens of responsibility is not clearly spelled out. Lambert prefers rather to expose the particular sins of the Council.

Simply put, the Council has failed in its particular obligations to help Queen Elizabeth act as upholder and shepherd. After quickly noting what is expected of them, he proceeds to express his doubt in their commitment to fulfill their duties:

Therefore I doe most humblie and heartily beseech their honours faithfullie to discharge that trust that the prince reposeth in them, and the charge that they tooke upon them when she made them counsellors; and also to consider what a great burthen of conscience is now laid upon them, for God did not put into the prince's heart to chuse them into that place too much to beare with any thing, either to the offence of God, to her Majestie's danger, or to the danger of the state. Howbeit I doe greatly feare that they are all too slack and fearfull in stirring up her Majestie to pittie the lamentable desolation that may ensue to her people for want of a knowne successor (135)

Notice how this two-part exhortation (“I . . . beseech”) mirrors the principle of division used to separate honor from conscience in Lambert’s earlier *collation* and *collection* on kings. First, he focuses on the Council’s obligations to another person, to the Queen, as an honorable reciprocation of “trust” and fulfillment of voluntary “charge.” Then he emphasizes the Council’s “burthen of conscience” in doing their duty to God, whose absolute will allows them to sit in such a place of importance. This two-fold sin results

from a singular act of neglect, the Council's ineffectuality in moving Elizabeth (through "pittie" and "desolation") to do the right thing.

The language for recounting the Council's sinful neglect actually reflects that used by Perkins and Beza (or rather their translators) in outlining the ways of applying scripture to various audiences. Ministers of the Word generally corrected the manners of those who lacked humility by "stirring up" affections of remorse so that the curse of the law would be fully felt, and the remedy of Gospel more meaningful. Lambert seems to portray the duties of counselors as similar to those of Perkins' and Beza's ministers, a perspective we might have gathered from Lambert's own method of speaking. The Councilors then fail as ministers of God's word, beyond simply providing little useful guidance for Elizabeth as advisors of state.

Following his more general criticism of the Council's "slack[ness]," Lambert provides next a specific illustration, by way of a "president," to "prove" his accusation of sin. In fact, his *precedent* here, unlike his earlier reference to Mary's reign, may more accurately be characterized as speculation on Councilors' thoughts. Lambert suggests to his audience that each of the Councilors has been calculating, or perhaps over-calculating, his odds in finding favor with a potential successor, refusing to put pious statecraft before their own unwillingness to risk a loss of influence. According to Lambert, each in the Council well knows the "hurlie burlie" that follows Elizabeth's untimely death, yet "in their myndes" they say unto themselves, "'if such a title take place, I am utterly undone'" (*PiPE* 1:135). Consequently, *nothing* has been done, though the Councilors clearly "see an utter confusion, both of themselves and of the state alsoe." This inaction is a "great slaunder of the regiment and perill of the prince's honour,

conscience, and safetie, and [the Council's] own also." The eyes of the realm have not joined with the mouth to declare loudly enough the impending danger of contested succession. Even the organs of the head appear to be divided against themselves. Such a body politic will surely fall. All the previous teachings provided by Lambert, dialectical and prophetic, show this condition as aberrant to nature, God's Law.

After this speculative illustration on the thoughts of Councilors, Lambert turns to more direct accusations, ones that actually do concern preceding events, in particular, the Council's recent actions within Parliament. To make these accusations against the present leaders of his own house, Lambert drums up some of his earlier self-legitimizing commonplaces: "I say and speake it dutifully that they doe all yeald too much unto her Majestie, either of feare, or of want of dutifull regard to this weightie cause." Contrast the depiction of the Council as cowards with Lambert's own call to be bold, and subsequent demonstration of bold speaking. That this attainder of the Council's action refers directly to the recent speeches of Cecil and others appears quite clearly as Lambert provides finally a specific example of their failure:

To this [motion to declare succession] one answereth, 'her Majestie sheweth us great reasons to prove it to her present perill'. To that I answer that their wisdomes are such, if love did overcome feare, that they are able to yeald unto her Majestie great reasons to prove that the contrary is to her perill of soule, bodie and honour. (*PiPE* 1:135)

Lambert here references what must be Cecil's report of Elizabeth's response two days earlier.⁴⁶ The Council, in doing what the Queen has commanded, have given in to their fear and, ironically, acted against both her and her commonwealth. Notice how Lambert

⁴⁶ The direct reference to Cecil's message and the point-by-point rebuttal of Elizabeth are the two most important rhetorical details for dating this speech. I have not seen them mentioned by historians disputing the date.

suggests that the operative motive for their actions should be “love,” the concept at the center of his earlier discussions of honor and duty. The Council’s acquiescence to the Queen’s misguided plans shows the Councilors’ failure in love and duty *as counselors*, who should guide toward the right, not let themselves be lead away from it.

So far, Lambert’s diatribe against Councilors could easily be heard in a secular speech on civic duty, the opening back-reference to his earlier scriptural collation notwithstanding. Yet to prophesy effectually, to evoke sincere repentance, Lambert needs to highlight the curse of the Council’s sin, and the best route for correction goes through scripture. He invokes a biblical type of the Councilors’ genus: “I pray God to forgett and forgive their wantes past, and presentlie to stirr up their heartes faithfullie and effectualle to deale therein, for Moses, that good and godlie magistrate, is to be had in perpetuall memory as a patterne to be followed, who desired God to wipe him out of the booke of life for the people’s sake.” Besides donning the language of preaching (“stirr up their heartes faithfully”), Lambert here presents the actions and words of Moses as a form of biblical Law: According to scripture, the duty of faithful leaders may involve self-sacrifice for the sake of country, a lesson for Councilors that echoes Lambert’s doctrine for Elizabeth, a lesson that echoes yet again the opening keynote first sounded with Tully.

Lambert here is extending his collation and further clarifying the doctrine for Christian magistrates, especially in regards to the obligations state counselors owe to the people. Note that he does not make much of the specific issue of succession. He appears to take it as resolved in the earlier doctrinal for kings. Now, he transfers his attention to the rules that Christian doctrine prescribes for lesser civic leaders regarding their advisory duties. In that capacity, one is also subject to God’s law, and the potential consequences

of not following it affect more than the individual's status in the "book of life." As Lambert subsequently points out, the Councilors, depending upon either their "neglect" or "continuall calling," will be seen as "enemies unto the state" or "lovers and faithfull counsellors," should the commonwealth be led into the type of division exhibited under Mary's "president" (this time a legitimate *precedent*, referred to later in the passage).

To make the consequences of the Council's inaction all the more clear, Lambert closes this part of the speech with his most explicit declaration of the "the curse" so far, especially in terms of the ills that befall ill-governed commonwealths:

Therefore let it serve us for a lesson to enquire and learne where the right is that we may give place thereunto, that soe God may blesse our doings and withhold this his heauey curse from us, pronounced in these wordes: 'for your iniuries and iniustices your kingdome shal be transferred from one people to another people.'

Notice how the quotation, Ecclesiasticus 10.8, highlights harming sins ("iniuries and iniustices") that seems to reflect two earlier quotations on kingly obligations, the call to act with justice and the call to heal the flock. The implications for the Council are fairly clear: aid the sovereign in what is "right" or lose the kingdom, despite your scheming.⁴⁷

Applications for Common Councilors: Peter's Redemption for the Contrite Counselor

Finally we come to Lambert's climactic, direct address to the Commons. This section prophesies with even greater vigor the consequences, according to scripture, of not adhering to God's Law, as already promulgated in the doctrine on kings and

⁴⁷ For how this passage may fit into "medieval historical thought," see E. R. Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages* (1948, 1953), 28-29. Curtius treats the concept of *translatio imperii* as "the result of a sinful misuse of . . . dominion." The verse itself, however, may refer to the people's sins as much as those of magistrates.

counselors. This section, moreover, amplifies the judgment on kingdoms invoked in Ecclesiastics 10:8, bringing it directly to bear on the immediate audience. But this section is climactic in another way: it explicitly and vividly reconnects the scriptural doctrine on monarchical duties with the earlier focus on Parliament as a natural formation, a reflection of God's design for the English commonwealth.

Along these lines, Lambert repeats the earlier exposition of the body politic with even greater specificity and detail concerning the duty to speak out. He also more explicitly identifies the special place of MPs in Parliament as a constitutionally recognized (if temporary) governing body, one that assumes the duties of statecraft just like the organs of the head, especially as it pertains to giving counsel:

Now to the last point, wherein I did charge this House with want of love and dutifull consideracion to the safetie of this noble ile of England. Certaine it is that the law hath made this counsell the eyes, the eare, and the tongue of the prince and realme; even soe certaine it is that that which is good or evill for the prince is good or evill for the whole state, *et econtra* [sic]; for the prince and state, ioyned in one (as I sayd before) make a perfect man of head, bodie and members, and cannot be separated. Now to the dutie and office of these three. First, the eye ought to be vigilant and watchfull that noe perill come to the head or bodie. Then, the eare ought carefullie to hearken out all things either hurtfull or beneficiall for the head or body. And the tongue is the messenger to utter them in that place where they are to be received or reiected according to their qualities, whether they be good or evill, the which is this counsell. Now since we be chosen of prince and realme of a speciall trust and confidence by them reposed in us, to be their eyes, eares, and tongues to see, hearken out and utter in this House all that is beneficiall or dangerous, if we, I say, shall hereafter neglect and deceive this great trust and omitt to prevent this lingring and universall mischeife, to meete, the not establishing of the succession, what are our eyes, eares and tongues but trayterous eyes, eares and tongues, and soe good for nothing?

This recollection of the general, constitutional arguments from the opening section of the speech adds one simple new point of argument: the duty for MPs not just to speak out

generally regarding the *potential* goods or threads to the commonwealth, but also, *at this particular moment*, to convince Elizabeth to declare a line of succession. The MPs who have “carefullie” sought out, through “eye” and “eare,” those “things either hurtfull or beneficiall for the head and body” must see and hear clearly enough the advice that their dutiful “tongue” should utter: the Commons must move Elizabeth to this act—or be traitors to the commonwealth who elected them as representatives.

Lambert’s extended reiteration of his own naturalistic arguments should be recognized as emphasizing not simply the constitutional responsibilities of the lower house, but more specifically those obligations associated with the honorable actions of counselors generally, the subject of the previous partition on Privy Councilors. As he did for them, Lambert here calls attention to the “trust and confidence . . . reposed” in the lower house by “prince and realm.” As with the earlier, more explicit arguments from honor, this later entreaty to Commons MPs emphasizes the fulfillment of commitments to fellow English citizens, just as did the earlier passages for Elizabeth.

Yet, as noted above, Lambert does not neglect to mention the Commons’ duty to God as well: Though not declared explicitly as an indictment of conscience, Lambert’s subsequent paragraph portrays the “trayterous” failure to provide honorable counsel as part and parcel to forsaking God, a sin for which the whole house must offer contrition:

Well, since we have heretofore sinned against heaven in this case and against this noble realme of England, God, for his great mercie’s sake, graunt that we may now rise againe with Peter by weeping repentance, and make recompence, for now is the time. If we doe protract it and feigne this or that excuse, it will help us noe more then when Evah, when she had eaten of the forbidden fruite, to say the serpent had decieved her, or as Adam sayd, ‘the woman whom thou gavest me gave it unto me.’ Noe, noe, this excuse did not serve them, but we doe feelee the smart of their disobedience and so shall all our posteritie doe unto the worlde’s end.

Now since noe excuse will availe, but that we must either, in this counsell, serve God or Beliall, shew ourselves true Englishman or traytors.

The instructive *types* for Commons MPs would seem to be both Peter and Adam, the latter of which might, like members of the sitting Parliament and Privy Council, blame his “disobedience” on the woman God “gavest” him. Even so, no “excuse” would remedy the “smart” caused by either Adam’s (or the Commons’) lack of faith. And those who will suffer the curse earned by the sins of the present Parliament include sadly all their “posteritie,” as was promised for decedents of Adam. This recollection of original sin and God’s judgment against sinners provides yet another fearful reminder of the curse of Law, augmenting the dire warning on the translation of kingdoms presented in the earlier citation of Eccl. 10.8. Surely Lambert does this to bring the proud low and discover the iniquities of the fallen, as prophesying preachers should do in providing godly correction.

That these biblical types are used especially to evoke a lamentation of the human condition generally and of particular sins actually committed appears more vividly in a subsequent biblical reference, one that paints an even more striking picture of what scripture says of those who shrug at God’s Law:

[I]f, when Herod had caused all the male children in Jury to be slaine from two yeares old downwardes, then was heard in Rome a voyce of great mourning, lamentacion and weeping, Rachell weeping for her children, and would not be comforted, what voices of great mourning, lamentacion and weeping will there be heard in England, where every Rachell shall weepe for father, brother and children and cannot be comforted, because they they are not able to prevent these inconveniences [of civil war].

This quotation of Matt. 2.18 (itself referencing Jer. 31.14), besides reminding listeners of Rachel’s trebled “weeping” for her lost people, gives a preview of the commonwealth’s comparably sad conditions as a result of Parliament’s, and consequently Elizabeth’s,

inaction. Lambert probably knows his listeners will see that Rachel here stands for a mother of God's chosen people.⁴⁸ When we add this passage to those that amplify the "heavie curse" in Eccl. 10.8, we may wonder whether Lambert has prepared a collation on errant kingdoms to complement his collation on kingly duties. While the earlier analysis of the Law for kings did reference, to some degree, the dread of not fulfilling one's obligations, the scriptural doctrine alluded to here clearly invokes the "malediction and curse," as Beza would commonly phrase it, for the purposes of *evoking* repentant emotions in the listeners.

And yet both Perkins and Beza say that the promulgation of Law should ultimately be balanced with some reminder of Gospel, that is, the possibility for salvation, though sinful. In this case, I would argue that Lambert presents the good news only tepidly, probably because he still needs to see a sign of remorse (e.g., a bill for declaration of succession?). Even so, we should recognize that the figures of both Adam and Peter represent examples of appropriately contrite and pious persons, an interpretation reflected in Perkins (e.g. 113-114) and Beza. Though Adam and Peter have sinned, they are saved by repentance and faith in God's promise of salvation. Lambert's comparison of these Biblical figures with members of the Commons shows that there is possibility for salvation in the present Parliament, but it requires a gesture from the sinner. There are two paths of action, as Lambert sees it, either to "serve God," acting to heal one's faith and remedy the curse of sin, or to "serve . . . Belial," continuing in silence towards the promised catastrophe of a sinful kingdom. Here Lambert provides yet

⁴⁸ Note that Jer. 31.14 reads "Rama," not "Rome," as one might guess. I am not sure where the error comes from, whether contemporary or modern transcription.

another instructive excerpt from scripture: “let us learne of Christ and say, ‘Away, Divell, with they hellish conceipts’” (*PiPE* 1: 136). Once again, Jesus serves as the best authority for guiding Christians to cut the knot of indecision. (Perhaps Lambert is a “red letter” Christian.) Just as Christian counselors should beware a divided kingdom, so should they reject those who would excuse neglectful acts, blaming them on the deceitful words of others, like those of the conciliatory Councilors. Only by following Jesus and his example of faithful action can wayward Christians rediscover God’s good graces.

A more reassuring declaration of Gospel appears, however, as this division and the overall speech begin to wind down. After the lamentation on Rachel and the reminder of Jesus’s example, the promise of salvation is finally offered in explicit terms—but even here it is mixed with a reminder of religious duty:

I doe threfore advise you all to crie out as lowde as you can and not to leave of untill her Majestie hath looked upon us with her eyes of mercy, pittying this our intolerable misery, for the spirit of God sayth in Zacharie: ‘the Lord is with you while yee be with him, and if yee seeke him he wilbe found you; but if yee forsake him, he will forsake you (*PiPE* 1:137)

Although this verse from 2 Chron 15.2 (cited in *PiPE*) reminds listeners of the consequences of forsaking God, that is, his judgment in kind, it also presents the promise of God’s unquestionable support for the faithful, should they but “seeke” him out. Such a cautious presentation of Gospel is actually recommended by Perkins for audiences that are “Falling in manners.” For them, Perkins suggests, “the Law must bee propounded being mixed with the Gospell: because a new acte of sinne requires a new acte (or worke) of faith and repentance.” Perkins’ example of mixed promulgation of Law and Gospel comes from Isaiah 1, where the “iniquitie” of a “sinfull nation” is called to “wash” and “make . . . cleane,” and the people are promised, “Though your sinnes were as crimsin,

they shall bee made white as snow: though they were red like skarlet, they shall be as wooll” (qtd. 120-121). Lambert’s verse from 2 Chronicles 15 exhibits the same dual message of judgment (“if you forsake him”) and salvation (“if ye seek him”), paralleling the blood-stained (“skarlet”) and pure (“white”) wool of Isaiah. Parliament needs to perform a cleansing act, in order to return to the way of God and leave off Belial.

The heretofore predominant collation of scriptures on God’s Law in Lambert’s prophesying may tell us either the degree to which he views the various parties as fallen or the special nature of the sins of the previous addressees. Elizabeth and the Council’s offenses involve not simply failings to live up to God’s Law, but are rather signs themselves of overblown pride. Recall that Perkins, besides providing special guidelines for addressing those “fallen in manners,” also teaches how to address those “as yet not humbled.” Perkins emphasizes the need to evoke “a grieve for sinne” by pronunciation of Law, “which may beget contrition of the heart, or the horrors of conscience.” After this “legall sorrow” has been evoked, Perkins then suggests, “it is fit to vse some choyce parcell of the law, which may reprocue some one notable sinne in men that are not as yet humbled” (110). In this section also, Perkins treats prophesying to the “hard-hearted,” to whom “the curse of the Law must bee denounced with threatning, together with the difficultie of obtaining deliuerance vntill they bee purified in the heart” (111). Lambert’s earlier prophesying seems to reflect many of features for addressing the proud and hard-hearted, beyond simply those falling in manners. While Lambert’s tone may not have been so zealous in his earlier division on the Queen, perhaps because she was not actually present, his points of doctrine, not to mention his deliberative digression into Mary’s sins, highlight the need for a sovereign to pay respect to the people’s love, that is, to avoid

being hard-hearted.⁴⁹ Even in turning towards the Councilors, Lambert highlights the doctrine against hard-hearted magistrates. Indeed, the citation of Moses' self-sacrifice for the people is meant to typify a disposition that puts the "people's sake" first. If Lambert were following the same model later taught by Perkins, this would explain his withholding of Gospel in addressing Queen and Council, at least until witnessing some evidence of contrition.

By contrast, for the Commons, Lambert not only presents the comforting and contrite models of Adam and Peter, who ultimately rediscover God's grace in repentance, but he also reminds MPs of one of the most basic and most recurrent scriptural promises of God's salvation: "if ye seek, ye shall find." Notice how Lambert in the above passage suggests that the Commons' path towards God necessitates speaking out ("to crie out"). This passage echoes both the earlier call for free speech and the doctrine taught by way of 1 Tim 2.1, which required subjects to pray for kings.

Interestingly, Perkins' *Art of Propheysing* divides the function of a sacred orator into two major offices, one preaching, wherein the speaker serves as mediator from God to the masses by promulgating God's word, and one prayer, wherein the prophet speaks

⁴⁹ The strength of Lambert's account of the curse on the Commons may be compared with the Lords' 1563 petition addressing Elizabeth directly. Their petition, after citing biblical examples to illustrate the general preference for clear succession, presents multiple scriptural warnings, noting afterwards, "Most excellent Princes, the places of the scriptures conteyning the said threatenings be sett furth with much mor sharp wordes then be here expressed" (*PiPE* 1:62). The Lords also remind her of how the conscience of the sovereign is reflected in the state of the commonwealth, she being "*in altissima specula*," according to "Ezechiell." First, note that such prophesying was not exclusively the realm of Puritan radicals; and thus we need not read Lambert's religion as significantly distinct from the establishment. Also note, in assessing his rhetorical strategies, that Lambert reserves his most dire warnings for the Commons, the audience whom he addresses directly, though they are not the persons most directly responsible for inaction.

for the people to God, asking forgiveness (2). Perkins, where he discusses prayer, also cites 1 Tim 2.1.⁵⁰ Looking back at the opening of this section addressing the Commons directly, we see clear markers that Lambert's prophesying is, in a sense, issued as a public prayer, especially where he introduces his references to Peter and Adam, "God, for his great mercie's sake, graunt"

Notice, finally, how Lambert promises not only that this act of utterance will be one of good conscience, but also that it has the potential of saving the commonwealth in more mundane terms, specifically by causing Elizabeth to view the people's condition with "mercy," a disposition that Lambert has already presented as inevitably leading to a declaration of succession. Lambert here connects his earlier exposition of duty, as expressed in God's Law, to his singular declaration of Gospel, reasoning that loud cries for succession represent the Commons' search for God, thereby staving off the rod of judgment, which otherwise will be brought to bear on a kingdom divided by unclear succession, a kingdom serving Belial. These pragmatic consequences for speaking out in piety are conveniently summed up by Lambert in bringing his prophesying to a close:

Thus I humblie and heartily beseech you all to discharge you [sic] fidelities to God, your prince and cuntrie, wherby the Queene's Majestie and the magistrates' honours and consciences may be unblemished in their careful and dutifull providing that this worthy realme may long continue English and be preserved. To this end, I say, crie out and lift up your voices like trumptetts and leave not of, that the sound of this lamentable voice of Rachell's may not be heard in England; for (to our comfort) God hath promised that if we seeke him he wil be found of us.

This passage actually provides yet another biblical citation, as one might guess from the

⁵⁰ 1 Tim 2 is commonly invoked when calling to prayer. A verse, for instance, appears on the title page of anonymous prayer book *Certayne Godly Exarcises and Meditacions*; later 1 Tim 2.1 appears in regard to praying for magistrates (*op. cit.* C.vii^f).

call to “lift up your voices like trumpetts.” Here he quotes Isaiah 58.1, “Crie aloud, and spare not: lift up thy voyce like a trumpet” (qtd. in Perkins—see below), a fairly generic example of Old Testament prophesying, a form of preaching that Calvinist ministers knew quite well served as model of the pious commoner speaking truth to worldly powers, no matter the consequences. The passage is cited by Perkins in his treatment of “Promulgation or uttering” of the sermonic speech, a section that follows his extended treatment of interpretation and preparation; there Perkins connects Isaiah’s call for loudness to support his advice that a minister use a “voyce . . . so high, that all may heare” (143). Lambert appears to use Isaiah’s passage to make a similar point, though his call to speak loudly is as much political pragmatism as it is rhetorical common sense.

V. A Peroration and a Point of Procedure: Love and Subsidies for England

One might have expected that Lambert would sit down after such an emotive exhortation to the audience. But the House of Commons was a place of business. Such exhortations, whether or not they may be effective in moving the audience to speak themselves, take on a slightly different tenor when attached to specific legislation. Perhaps this is the reason that Lambert, as he starts the peroration to the speech, which consumes the final fifth of the whole oration, introduces a subsidy bill before closing in earnest: “I have prepared a bill that the House may be possessed of the matter; wherein I have thought it good to offer unto her Majestie a subsidie and two fifteens and tenths to obteine her Majestie’s loving, willing, and favourable consent unto this weightie cause” (*PiPE* 1:137). Given the language of negotiation, presenting an “offer” to “obteine” something, it appears we are witnessing another business deal, like Sadler’s closing

attempt to bribe the Commons into silence (see previous chapter); Lambert here presents a counter-offer to buy Elizabeth's declaration of succession, upping her monetary reward.

In fact, this introduction of a subsidy bill begins a paragraph that resounds and amplifies the earlier connections Lambert created between honor, love, and obligations to fellow members of the body politic. By offering this extraordinary subsidy, above and beyond those presented in previous sessions of Parliament, Lambert wants to make clear that the people (he claims to "speake for all England") are willing to give more than what is due, to act with the unconditional love required of Christians. Elizabeth's honor, given this "cheritie" of the common people, depends on her providing some reciprocation. If she refuses to act honorably, moreover, she risks leading her people towards a similar disrespect of Christian doctrine of brotherly love, that is away from God and towards Belial: "nothing . . . doth so much weaken her Majestie and draw away the heartes of the rude and ignorant people from her Majestie, as the not preventing of this mischeife [i.e., undeclared succession], for they are more commonly ledd and caried away with this prophane reason of the heathen, 'We will love them that love us'" (*PiPE* 1:138). This supposed retreat to "heathen" conduct among the masses reflects the disposition of England under Mary and the people's "general misliking" of her. The dishonorable conduct of sovereigns spirals into a broad downfall for the country as a whole.

It may seem a conundrum that a failure in showing love constitutes violations under both heathen and Christian doctrine, yet the point to observe here is that God has so written the laws of nature such that the unjust are often punished by the very people they harm, and yet that act of retribution is not itself justified—though the exacters of punishment serve God's will. This conundrum explain why Lambert feels it so important

to speak at length on the body politic together with an extended reminder of the curse for not following God's Law. His prophesying in fact reads scripture as a guide to conduct, one that, in an almost scientific fashion, treats the outcomes for the commonwealth as predictable, even guaranteed, depending upon the actions of each of the participants. It is with a voice of objectivity that he then closes this final call to honor by recalling his opening desire for "meditation" on the present situation.

This final mention of meditation also opens into a final prayer, a closing call to conscience. Here he invokes the language of prayer one last time, "God for his great mercie's sake, grant that the Queene's Majestie's loving eyes may be opened and her noble heart mollified." He also reminds listeners one last time of the curse and salvation, referring back to his earlier reference to the writings of "Jesus the sonne of Sirach," the author of Ecclesiasticus.⁵¹ He invokes as well some so far unmentioned Biblical types for consideration of those who may wish to sit quietly in hope that matters will work themselves out: "let every one of this House follow the matter presently and earnestlie, for he that doe not shall wash their handes in innocency with the two innocentes Judas and Pilate, who betrayed and condemned the innocent lamb Jesus Christ." Members of the Commons will show their true faith by speaking out, or else exhibit their fall from grace, which may well be part of God's plan, a fact that in no way redeems them. For his part, Lambert "is pure from the bloud of all these men, even as Paul did when he had discharged his dutie in all good conscience" (*PiPE* 1:138).

Lambert, just as Sadler attempted, intends to lead by example. The examples they

⁵¹ I read the citation here as looking back to Eccl. 10.8, though the paraphrase offered sounds more like 2 Chron. 15.2. Hartley offers Eccl. 2.8 with a question mark, but his notes miss the earlier reference to Sirach as Eccl. 10.8.

each set are in one sense antithetical, in another convergent (hence my reading of Lambert as completing a chiasmus with Sadler's speech). Whereas Sadler tried to persuade the Commons to take his lead and support subsidy while sitting silently on succession, Lambert wants everyone to speak out on the latter issue. Although they take opposite positions over succession, Lambert nonetheless converges with Sadler's example by promoting subsidy. In fact, though Lambert mentions subsidy in only two brief passages, his arguments on Elizabeth's honor depend on the passage of the subsidy bill, which withheld would not obligate Elizabeth to return an equal gesture of Christian charity. In any case, Lambert's arguments and example appear to have been much more persuasive than Sadler's. The initial reaction in the Parliament house was quite favorable, just as it had been for Molyneux's motion, in spite of Elizabeth's recent rebuke.

Discussion of the issue of succession resurfaced, and we have what some believe to be a speech of thanks from Lambert for the Commons' favorable reception (*PiPE* 1:140).

As Lambert had expected, however, the gist of his speech reached Elizabeth's ears in its raw form. She was irritated. In spite of the oration's expression of love and duty and call to pray for her in particular, she issued a "Commandment" the following day (9 November) not to discuss the matter further. But, while the speech did not move Elizabeth, it appears to have resonated in the Commons and convinced other MPs to speak out, if not about succession, then about her latest edict not to discuss it. Paul Wentworth, Peter Wentworth's brother, offers an oration summarized as follows:

Paule Wentworth, One of the Burgesses, moved, whether the Queen's Commandment was not against the Liberties: Whereupon arose divers Arguments, continuing from Nine of the Clock till Two Afternoon: And then, resolved to cease till on the Morrow: the House did rise.

(*CJ*, 11 November)

While Lambert's oration does not explicitly mention the issue of free speech in terms of the "privileges" traditionally asked for by the Speaker at the beginning of the session, his extended preamble alludes to "free" expression. Wentworth, in any case, takes us directly there, putting the demand to be allowed to speak freely in terms of the rights of the Commons. Interestingly, unlike Lambert's extended dissertation, Wentworth's motion has been found only in the form of three simple "questions on privilege" (*PiPE* 1:154), not an extended oration. It nonetheless sparked debate like Lambert's original call.

To a certain extent, Wentworth's short speech simply validates the vision of the body politic that Lambert had outlined. Yet Wentworth's connection of that issue to a specific motion gave the issue of free speech its own pair of legs. Fearing where this would lead, on the next day, Elizabeth issued another command "that there should not be further Talk of that Matter" (12 November). Little is recorded as happening on the floor in regard to this command or succession, but neither is there progress in the subsidy bill—indeed the bill on "Caps on Holidays" fares much better. Nearly two weeks later (25 November), finally, Elizabeth relents on the gag order and, moreover, two days after that (27 November), "remits" part of the subsidy that Cecil had originally proposed in the first reading of the subsidy bill a month earlier, which like Lambert's tax was extraordinarily large (a detail Sadler tried to justify). The fact that the same day the subsidy finally makes progress on the floor and without any formal action on succession taking place suggests that Lambert's idea of Christian honor had sunk in. Elizabeth's "remittance" of part of the subsidy—Caesar's rebate of a tax she had not yet actually been given!—seems to be interpreted as an honorable gesture that justified leaving off the issue of succession as requested, Rachel's tears notwithstanding.

Epilogue: The Queen's Own Eloquence

The outcome of these speeches probably reflects what many scholars of rhetoric find so vexing, or at any rate inscrutable, about oratory during the early modern period. For those who would measure eloquence by the immediate results it produces in the course of action and the development of ideas—following either the Aristotelian preoccupation with decision-making genres or the neo-Aristotelian ideal of collective problem solving—there is little reward in reflecting on these orations. Real political results from speaking out in the 1566 session are hard to pin down in terms of how they defined critical political issues: Onslow's ceremonial speech, though it may have been innovative in its objections to allowing a Queen's solicitor to be Speaker of the Commons, seems to have been too subtle to persuade Elizabeth to overturn the original choice of the Privy Councilors. Sadler's exhortation to offer unconditional support for subsidy failed utterly to prevent the Commons from pursuing a declaration of succession, which was to be the Commons' central activity for the following few weeks. Finally, although Lambert's speech seems to have succeeded where Sadler's failed (in moving the Commons to take a particular proposed course), this momentary oratorical triumph ultimately went nowhere. At most Lambert's speech achieved a slight reduction in the subsidy bill, which Elizabeth used to buy silence. This result was far from Lambert's aim, since he preferred a declaration of succession. In the end, Elizabeth both received her subsidy (though slightly smaller than originally asked) and avoided making any declaration of succession. The royal power of the Crown seems to have overthrown (or bought off) the political power of Parliament.

Indeed, one may wonder why Elizabeth even bothered to stand and rebuke her

Commons. After all, she had succeeded in the primary goal of the session: attaining money. Moreover, as sovereign, she had the right to dissolve Parliament completely. While *proroguing* Parliament would ensure the return of these same errant MPs for a third session, *dissolving* Parliament forced new elections of Commons members. She chose the latter course and decided not to press her luck at the polls until five years later. Perhaps she was hoping that many of the hated MPs would exit national politics naturally, as had Thomas Williams, the Speaker whom Onslow was selected to replace. In any case, the very act of dissolving, rather than proroguing, Parliament clearly communicated Elizabeth's dissatisfaction, especially in light of earlier rebukes and commands.

But perhaps this implied censure, the blanket rebuke of the whole body, explains part of her eagerness to add a fuller "periphrasis." A simple, angry dismissal could not convey the specifics of her dissatisfaction, specifics that she seems to have found politically expedient to clarify before sending members of the Commons on their sad journeys home. Recall that her speech divides the Commons into four groups: "broachers and workers"; "speakers"; "agreers"; and "those which sat still mute." It would behoove us to analyze the variously striking or subtle messages Elizabeth may be conveying here, in light of what we know about the events and speeches of the 1566 Parliament and the accompanying institutional and intellectual background.

Like Elizabeth, we will begin with the "broachers and workers," the worst of the lot. The "broachers" surely included the likes of Molyneux and Wentworth. Molyneux was the first one to mention succession during the 1566 session, and Wentworth the first to move the Commons to consider whether Elizabeth had violated the privilege of free

speech that Onslow had forgotten to claim. While Lambert's speech touched on both these factors, he was not the first to raise succession, nor did he call for an official review of Elizabeth's threats of the Commons. In fact, the only official measure he offered was for a subsidy bill. Here is the critical difference between "speakers" (taken up more fully in a moment) and "broachers": One may speak at length in the early modern Parliament, but tangible results can only be achieved by following specific procedural steps, such as presenting a motion, introducing a bill, or calling for a vote. Lambert's proposed bill was the opposite of threatening, although his extended oration was certainly disruptive and did comparatively little to support the subsidy itself. Molyneux and Wentworth, neither of whom is recorded as speaking more than a few sentences (and those dryly procedural), nonetheless greatly influence the actions of both Commons and Crown, the latter by forcing Elizabeth's hand (i.e., in promising marriage and reducing subsidy), the former by providing the requisite institutional gestures necessary for proceeding on a course of action. The "workers," a category which probably included others of Neale's "puritan choir," can be read as similar to the broachers in their focus on specific procedural tasks as the key means of moving business. While both the "broachers and workers" may have done their fair share of speaking either on the floor or in committee, it is important to recognize that Elizabeth here sees their sins as different—and more blameworthy—than those censured for their eloquent speech *per se*.

Next to blame, then, are the "speakers, who by eloquent tales persuaded others." Elizabeth's treatment of this group is fairly unremarkable, except for the fact that, as just discussed, they are *not* first blamed. She is drawing on the commonplace negative images of unruly orators rousing the rude multitude. Significantly, however, she never actually

heard any of the speeches. She had heard *about* them from reports of Privy Councilors, a group we know to be somewhat unreliable. Of course, she needed only to hear a few passages of Lambert's prophesying to realize that the Commons had disobeyed her command not to discuss succession. But the fact that Elizabeth did not hear these "tales" helps us understand what the offense of "speakers" really is: *success* in convincing "others" to follow the course of the far more dangerous "broachers and workers." The influence of eloquent orators is fairly innocuous when there are no errant measures moved on the floor. In this case, however, Elizabeth has to explain how it could happen that so many MPs went along with a clearly disobedient act.

Next are the "agreers, who being so light of credit that the eloquence of the tales so overcame them, that they gave more credit thereunto than unto their own wits." Elizabeth says more about this group than about the previous two. This amplified rebuke should tell us something. Notice how she ascribes their misdirection to misplaced "credit." They believed the "eloquence of the tales," rather than "their own wits." While this critique does not totally absolve the "agreers" of all guilt, it presumes that their disobedience results primarily from an inner conflict sparked by agitators—not from the Queen's actions. Here we find, I would argue, one of the reasons why Elizabeth chose to expand her expression of dissatisfaction: She wants the vast majority of MPs to realize that she does not view them as entirely to blame. From their perspective, this partial exoneration is both heartening and admonitory: Assured that they were not yet cut off from the body politic, yet chastened by Elizabeth's biting expression of pardon, they would not be so quick to follow those "tales" in the future. From Elizabeth's perspective, this distinction is critical. If she cannot ascribe the Commons' overall opposition to a few

broachers and taletellers, she would be forced to consider herself a tyrant foisted on the common subjects against their will, a sentiment that actually reflects how she was portrayed by enemies foreign (the Pope) and domestic (promoters of the Queen of Scots).

Finally, we have “those which sat still mute and meddled not therewith, but rather wondered, disallowing the matter.” It is noteworthy that Elizabeth recognizes this group at all. She seems to be strategically augmenting the count of MPs who did not directly oppose her. Her depiction of them as sitting in “wonder” implies that they are dull, but she also seems to give them more “credit” than the “agreers,” especially by characterizing their actions as “meddl[ing] not therewith” and “disallowing the matter.” In any case, she is legitimating their silence as a more or less dutiful act.

Here we find one of the chief differences between oratorical civic voice and that exercised in print or writing. Physical presence in the Parliament house neither allows for anonymous composition (as was common in the pamphlet press), nor permits disinterested inaction. One *acts* simply by being present (indeed, attendance was not always dutifully demonstrated). While it may sound as if I am legitimating Sadler’s call for silence out of duty, in fact I am simply recognizing what many of the Stoic sentences taught: expressions of civic voice need to be carefully chosen. Elizabeth’s praise of certain members’ silence on succession must be weighed with others’ selective silence on subsidy. Moreover, in an institution like the English Parliament, as in most procedure-based decision-making forums, a few words following proper protocol (like those uttered by the “broachers and workers”) may prove more influential than a long speech. In an oratorical venue, one’s silence is recognizable and can be interpreted as either disengagement from the present business (which need not always be interpreted as

dereliction of duty) or active disapprobation of the vocalized direction. Elizabeth seems to have recognized that her silence at the end of Parliament in 1566 might have been construed as approbation of the session, which though favorable in outcome, nonetheless caused her great frustration in matters about which she was adamant—and would continue to be for four more decades.

Indeed, the break from her heretofore customary silence at the end of her two earlier Parliamentary sessions is itself a loud protest against the direction her subjects were going. She could not tolerate another session with so much pressure on matters that she considered part of her personal rule. Indeed, part of the problem was that in the Commons, her only voice was by proxy of the Privy Council, individuals who had their own political livelihoods to look after. Consequently, Elizabeth's standing up and speaking out was not simply "acting" the part of the orator-civilizer, but also claiming a voice that the institutional setting had taken from her. In the 1563 session, she had actually written a note for Bacon to read verbatim at the end of the session (*PiPE* 1:112-5). Since that proxy was apparently not enough to convince MPs that she would leave "*nunc dimittis*" regarding succession, she rose herself in 1566 and changed her tact. In 1563, she had spoken to excuse her own actions, but now she spoke with "hatred" of her audience. These forms (justification and invective), of course, correspond to categories of judicial *letter writing* identified by Erasmus, not to classical deliberative speech, nor even contemporary deliberative writing. It is significant that Elizabeth chose not to deliver an admonitory, commanding, or dissuasive oration herself, but rather had asked her Privy Councils in the Commons to do so. Her benefit in speaking from a judicial perspective may have been to leave past disputes behind, all the while imprinting in the minds of the

audience a list of past crimes—for which they might ask forgiveness in the future.

Historians of rhetoric have often noted that the artistic manuals for the field represent an abstraction of rhetorical practice, a conceptualization of what it means to speak for specific purposes on specific occasions. For the early modern period, many of those same scholars have recognized a remarkable interest in adapting classical concepts of civic speaking to contemporary purpose. However, most of what we know about Renaissance concepts of rhetoric comes from written sources, either adaptations of rhetorical theory to early modern social constructs, such as court life, or manifestations of that theory in manuscript and print. When oratory happens to enter the picture, it is rarely based on a direct analysis of public speaking, but rather on contemporary anecdotes and myths about orators or on prescriptions for speech and writing, many of which are borrowed from a very different (although not altogether irrelevant) social paradigm. As we have observed, traditional conceptualizations of rhetoric can be misleading when used as analytical tools for understanding the rhetorical practice of an oratorical venue having its own customary modes of civic engagement.

As we saw in the 1566 session, a wide range of rhetorical acts are available in such a highly procedural civic institution: Silence can be “heard” as expressing an opinion or sentiment, and long speeches can nonetheless resound with critical ideas, both in response to others and to introduce (sometimes inadvertently) new material for debate. Given the genuinely influential role of oratory in civic life, the speeches themselves should be explored as a nuanced and varied kind of rhetorical practice, one determined partly by the institutional customs, partly by the speakers’ formal training, and partly (*only* partly) by the immediate outcome of the political contests. Only then will we be

able to understand the impact of the highly developed programs of rhetorical education. Only then will we really know what civic voice consisted of in a period both marked by the revival of classical rhetoric and characterized as rigidly hierarchical in terms of civil society. This project, I hope, takes a modest step in that direction.

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Bibliographic conventions:

- 1) Names of writers, publishers, and places are presented in their native idiom, rather than their Latinate form, with the exception of pseudonyms (e.g., Rudolph *Agricola's* chosen surname) and Greek names, which appear in their common anglicized form.
- 2) Titles are listed in the language of publication.
- 3) Original publication dates for Renaissance texts are listed immediately after the title; the full publication information indicates the edition used in this study.
- 4) Many Renaissance anthologies are listed by the title of the first text in the collection. When other texts in a collection are cited, they are listed separately with a cross-reference to the title text, where the full publication information is provided.
- 5) Modern editors of primary texts are listed as secondary attributions, unless their comments are cited separately, in which case the editors are listed under secondary sources as well, with a cross-reference to the primary text.

Abbreviations used in the bibliography

LCL = Loeb Classic Library

STC = Short title catalogue, 2nd ed.

Wing= Wing catalogue

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Vita

Daniel Edward Seward was born at Edwards AFB, California on February 21, 1971. In 1973, his family moved to Beavercreek, Ohio, where he attended and graduated from Beavercreek High School in 1989. After enrolling at the University of Texas for the Fall Semester of 1989, he moved to Austin. In 1993, he graduated with a B.A. in English and a B.B.A. in Management Information Systems. Following graduation, he worked as a database programmer at Dell Computer Corporation before enrolling (Fall, 1994) in the University of Texas Graduate Program in English. He continued his computer programming activities while attending graduate school, publishing two composition-oriented software programs, *Rhetoric Online* (1996) and *Coretext Online* (1997) with authors Maxine Hairston and John Ruszkiewicz. In 1997, he took a leave of absence from UT, in order to be with his *de facto* spouse, Jill Galvan, in Los Angeles, where he developed stock market software with Reuters America. Upon returning to graduate school a year later, he completed his Master's thesis, "Sectarian Dialectic and the Logic of Reformation in Milton's *Areopagitica*" (1999) and continued into doctoral coursework. While furthering studies in rhetoric and composition, he taught courses in writing and literature and also contributed to the *Scott Foresman Writer* (1999), coauthored with John Ruszkiewicz and Maxine Hairston. In September 2001, he again took a leave of absence and returned to Los Angeles, where he both developed software at Reuters America and taught writing at California Lutheran University. After Jill (now *de jure* spouse) was hired as a professor at Ohio State University in 2003, they moved to Columbus. There, he taught courses at Ohio Wesleyan University and began writing his dissertation, *Civic Voice in Elizabethan Parliamentary Oratory*. He now lives in Columbus with his wife Jill and son Otis.

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